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IMPERIAL FARMS

(A. D. 1577 TO A. D. 1805)

GRANTED TO

THE ANCESTORS OF HIS HOLINESS THE TIRAYAT MAHARAJ

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, HINDI AND GUJARATI, WITH NOTES

BY

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Printed by Manilal Itcharam Desai at

THE NEWS PRINTING PRESS

Bake House Lane, Fort, BOMBAY.

ABBREVIATIONS.

J. B. B. R. A. S:	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. R. A. S:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Ain:	Ain-e-Akbari by Blochmann and Jarret, Calcutta Edition. Vol. I. (1873). Vol. II. (1891). Vol. III. (1894).
Wilson:	Wilson's Glossary of Oriental Words.
Steingass:	Steingass' Persian and English Dictionary.



PREFACE

Shri Vallabhacharya has an immense following in and outside Gujarat. Many of the rich Bhatia, Lohana, Bania and Marwadi merchants acknowledge him and his descendants as their religious head. His immediate descendants were very learned and holy men, and were able to impress the rulers of the land with the exalted ideal of their religious tenets. One of them was Vitthaleshwara, the second son of Shri Vallabhacharya. A short sketch of his life, as outlined by the late Mr. Mulchand Tribhovan Telivala, B.A., LL.B. is reprinted, by his permission (given when he was alive), as an appendix to this publication, and it shows how Emperor Akbar was impressed with his learning and piety. He conferred upon him a number of favours; he seems to have refused nothing to him. His successors—from Shah Jahan right up to Shah Alam—continued to show the same kind of favor to his descendants and were anxious to redress their slightest grievance. Not only the Emperor Akbar, but his august mother, Hamideh Banu Begum, was also impressed with his goodness and piety, and he secured the rare honor of the expression of her regard in a Farman (No. III) granted by her, confirming her son's behest and opinion. It is a unique honor. There are hardly any instances of grants made by Mogul Emperors being confirmed or ratified by their mothers. The Farmans go as far as the time of Murlidhar, the eldest son of Giridhar, he being the eldest son of Vitthaleshwara.

Akbar was at one time a follower of the Hindu religion, and it is no wonder, therefore, if he respected the Vaisnava Maharajas. He assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark, and with the Hindu thread, rakhi, on his body. Badaoni says, "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year (A. H. 988, A. D. 1580) he came forth to the public Audience Chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindu and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing (स्वास्ति). It became the current custom also to wear the rakhi on the wrist. (p. 149, Dr. Modi's paper in Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S; Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I. page 184.) In an earlier portion is described how a Brahmin named Purushotam was commissioned to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence, and how one Devi, also a Brahmin, was hauled up on a charpai to near a balcony of the castle wall where the Emperor used to sleep, and remaining suspended used to instruct him in the secrets of Hinduism. Badaoni, who did not approve of the Emperor's leaning towards Hinduism, gives the following particulars as instances thereof: "Beef was interdicted and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had

been in company with Hindu libertines and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu Princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids. He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into his court assemblies, and introduces them still (A. H. 990), in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes; he abstained from every thing which they think repugnant to their nature, and looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him.” Ain, Vol. I. p. 193.

“His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions confers lands..... on the following four classes of men: first, on inquirers after wisdom, who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and day time in searching after true knowledge;” Vol. I. p. 268. Ain. Vitthaleshwara belonged to this class. He is called *Mā'ārtat Āgāh*, one possessed of Divine Knowledge. It would thus be in the fitness of things if Akbar respected the Maharajas and “conferred lands” on them.

Mr. Telivala refers to the Emperor's delight in discussion of questions relating to the world beyond, and his invitation to Vitthaleshwara to explain to him the nature of the Supreme Being. Being pleased with his explanation he requested him to ask for a gift, and he asked for the grant of Gokul, which after many vicissitudes he had made up his mind to make his permanent place of residence. His Majesty granted this request, and bestowed it upon him as a gift by a Royal Farman. Mr. Telivala refers to a Farman which corresponds in respect of date with Farman No. I in this publication, but really it is not issued for the grant of this village in so many words; it is merely an Imperial command addressed by Akbar to his officers to allow him to live in peace at Gokul and not harass him by demanding any thing from him, his relatives or retainers, meaning thereby that no taxes &c., should be demanded, from him or them. This presumes a grant of the village with proper formalities. Later Farmans (e. g., Farman No. V) proceed on the basis of Gokul having been granted to him as an absolute Inam, transferable and heritable.

It speaks volumes for the tolerant spirit of the Mogul Emperors, that not Akbar alone but his successors raised no difficulties in the way of the Goswami Maharaj and his descendants enjoying their heritage, but that with full know-

ledge of the fact that the income of Gokul, of the river ferry, and of Jatipur, was being utilised for the upkeep of an Idol and its Temple (Thakordwar), they went on renewing their behests, and confirming the grants. The Farmans printed herewith cover a period of over two hundred years, but they all breathe the spirit of reverence for the Goswamis and tolerance for their tenets and observance of those tenets.

The ascertainment of the corresponding dates of the Farmans according to the Christian Calendar is entirely due to the kindness of Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I. C. S. (Retired). On this side of India it is difficult to find another such expert in this branch of learning, conversion of the dates and years of one Era into another. In his letter, he thus describes the difficulties. "The Christian dates are designated as of the Old Style (O. S.) or New Style (N. S.). The Old Style dates are all those according to the Julian Calendar which was in use all over Europe before Pope Gregory XIII made certain changes in it in A. D. 1582. These changes were accepted over the greater part of Europe shortly thereafter, but not till 1752 A. D. in England. The dates according to this Gregorian Calendar are called, New Style dates. The chief difference between the two styles so far as the period in which Farmans IV to XII fall is that there is a difference of ten days between them, in the case of Farmans XIII and XIV there is a difference of eleven days. Thus the date in Farman No. IX is 21st September, New Style, but 11th September, Old Style. The dates of the first three Farmans fall before 1582 so they would always be given in the Old Style.

"The dates of the Hijri months are of two kinds, called respectively Hisabi and Hilali. The former are derived from a calculation of mean motions and are those generally set down in all the text books and tables. The latter are derived from actual observation of the New Moon (Hilal) and are those generally in use among the people. It thus often happens that there is a difference of a day between the Hisabi and Hilali dates: e. g., 1st Moharram Hisabi may fall on a Tuesday, but the New Moon may not be visible till after sunset on that day, and thus according to the Hilali reckoning Wednesday would be 1st Moharram. It is to cure this uncertainty that usually the day of the week is given in documents with the Hijri date; one can then be quite certain when the document was actually made. [In these Farmans, unfortunately the days of the week are not given]. I have treated the dates given by you for the present as Hisabi for they are certain so far as calculation goes.

"The Ilahi Calendar is not Zoroastrian although the months are called by the same names as the Zoroastrian months. The constitution of the year is entirely different and it begins at an entirely different time. There is also a

certain amount of uncertainty as to the exact elements of the Ilahi Calendar, so far as our present knowledge goes, although the general principles are known; hence it happens that the Ilahi dates when calculated are out by a day or two occasionally. In this case also, as in that of the Hijri Calendar if the week day is given as it often is, no doubt is left.

“In Farman No. VI 17th Mehr, Ilahi year 6 of Shah Jehan, it is probable that the adjective Ilahi only qualifies the month Mehr and not the year. Shah Jehan abolished the use of the Ilahi year and restored the use of the Hijri Calendar, and his Regnal years were reckoned according to it from 1st Jamadi II. He came to the throne on 8 Jamadi II, A. H. 1037, and his sixth Regnal year, (which is probably what is given in the document) extended from 1 Jamadi II, A. H. 1042 to 30 Jamadi I, A. D. 1043. He ordained that Ilahi dates and months may be used, but [that] they should occupy a subordinate place..... The Ilahi date must be that which fell between the above two Mahomedan dates. (On this matter I would refer to Professor Hodivala's very excellent paper on the Julus years of Shah Jehan in his Historial Studies in Numismatics, published in 1923).”

The late Mr. Telivala, a Sanskrit scholar of outstanding merit, was a tower of strength to the Sampradāya. It was he who suggested the idea of having the Farmans published and edited, with a translation, so that the public may realise the great regard in which the Head of the Sampradāya was held by the Mogul Emperors. The suggestion was taken up as a labor of love. I am conscious that the result could have been made less defective, but adequate leisure was not forthcoming. Mr. Telivala, had his life been spared, would have contributed notes on the genealogy of the Goswami Maharajas and on several other technical matters. As it is, the publication has to do without them and the loss is ours. All the same it is hoped that the following pages would in some measure serve to demonstrate, that the early successors of the founder of the Sampradāya were worthy of all that was bestowed on them, on account of their deep religious knowledge, wide scholarship, undoubted piety and sincere loyalty to the throne.

DUMAS
16th May: 1928. }

KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

NOTE.

Owing to difficulty in deciphering them, I have assigned different dates to Farmans XIV and XV. As a matter of fact, it is not so. Both were drawn up on one and the same day, viz., that given in Farman XV, that is, the Fifth of Jamadi the Second in the Thirteenth year of the Emperor's reign. This would necessitate the deletion of the observation at the end of the Notes to Farman XV, to the effect, that the two Farmans were granted in different years.

In this connection, I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging the valuable help rendered by Shriyut Haraswarooprai, A. D. C. to His Holiness The Tikayat Maharaj. He is a born calligraphist and an admirable *Khush-Nawis*. It was he, who in the first place, pasted the strips of the torn Farmans in their proper order, and then deciphered, as best he could, the restored text. The difficulty was increased as some Farmans were written in an extremely unreadable character. But as he had considerable experience in deciphering such Farmans, as his own family possessed some, he could do the work, assisted by his own natural talent, much better and more easily than those unused to it.

The title of the book, in fine ornamental hand, on the cover, in elegant Persian character, is the result of his efforts.

K. M. J.



ERRATA.

- (1) Translation of Farman IVA, last but two lines, read "Fifteenth" instead of "Eleventh."
- (2) Translation of Farman VIII, last but two lines, delete the words, "of the three places."
- (3) Notes to Farman XV, delete last three lines, about the different dates of Farmans XIV & XV.



آستان قدس

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کتابخانه آستان قدس
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مولاک

حکم بایست

که در این روز سید احمد کریم در این روز

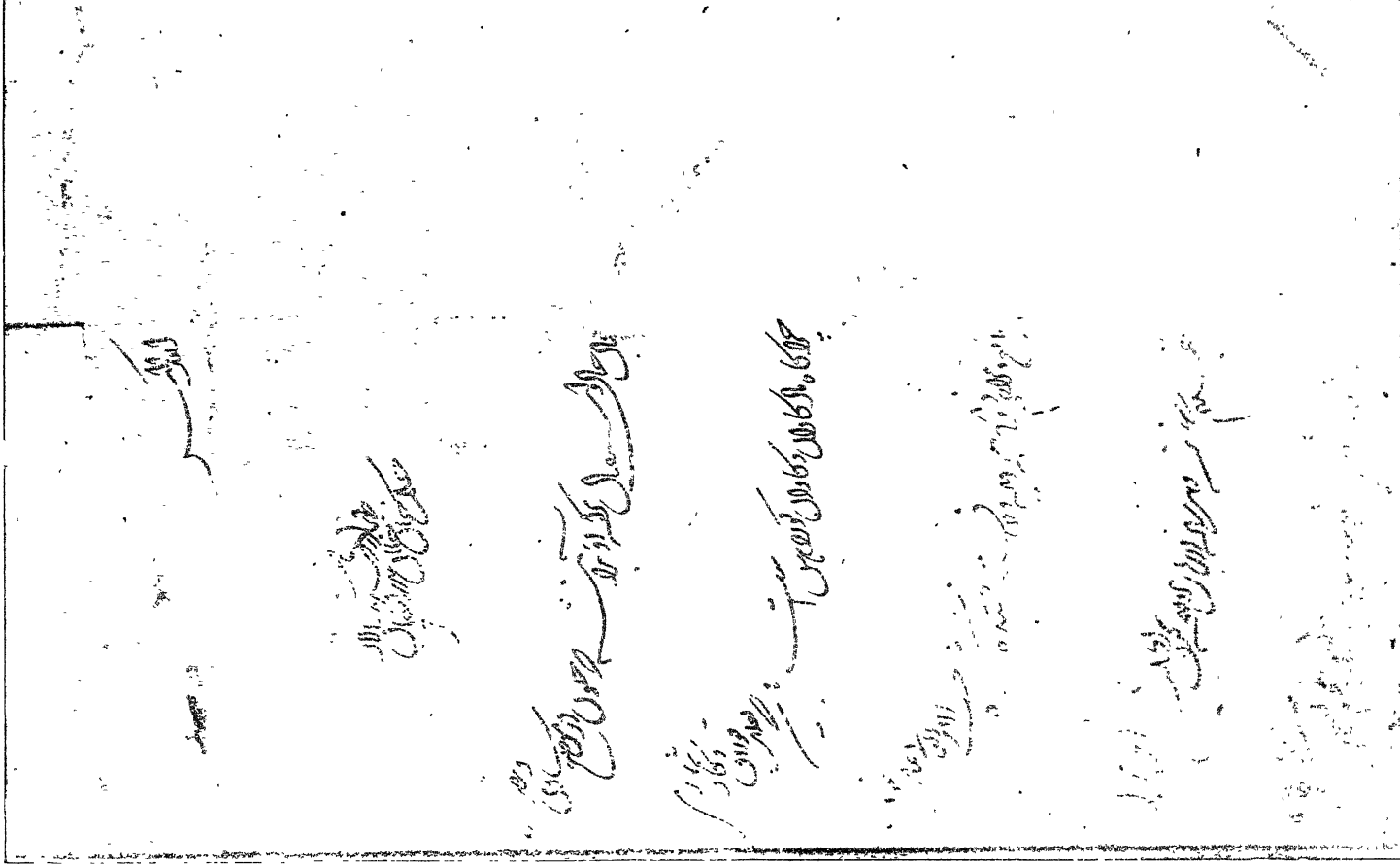
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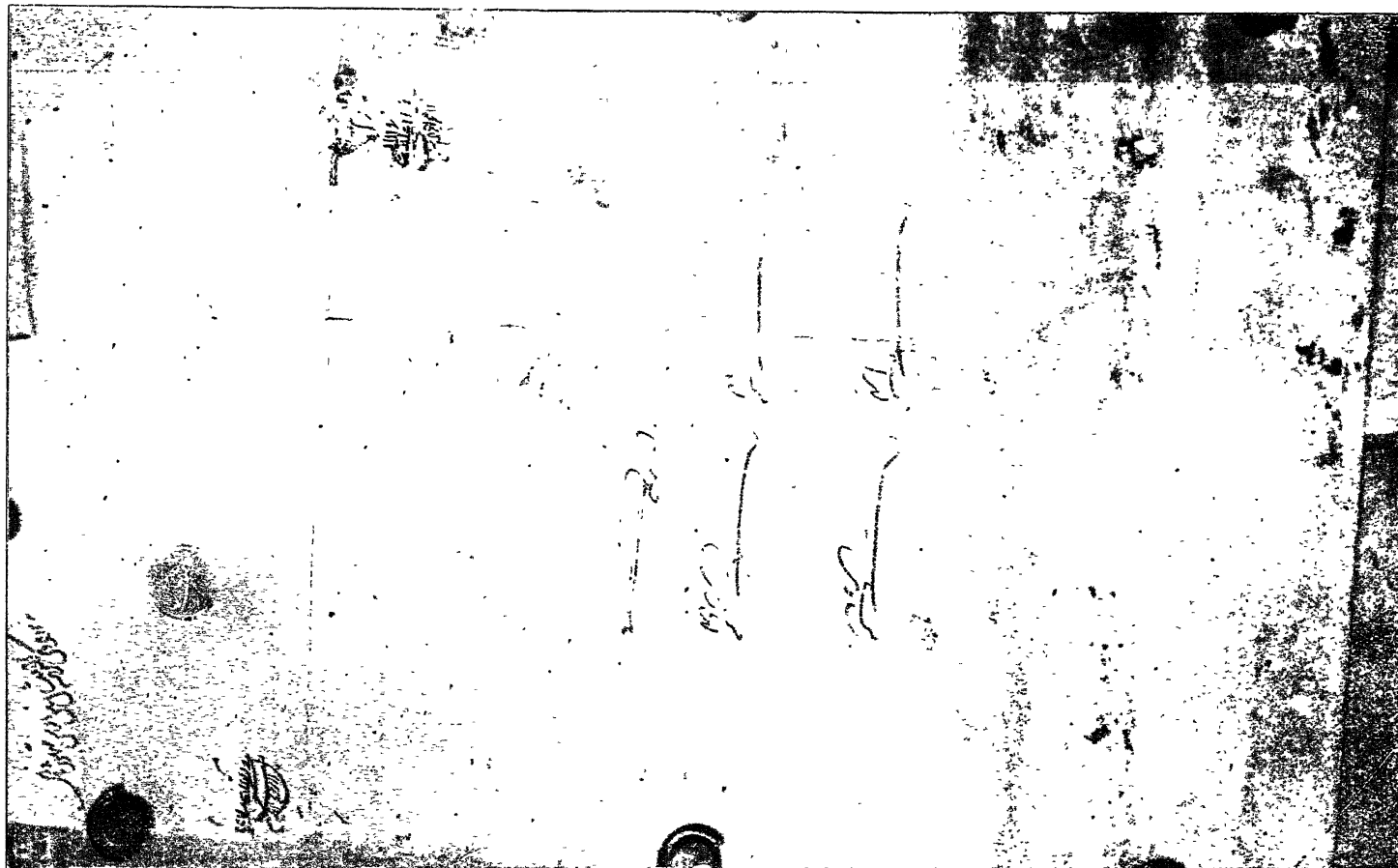
کدام حکم را که در این روز

چهار روز و هفت روز و دوازده روز

با شش روز و هفت روز

و از روز هفت روز و هفت روز





7.

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فیضانِ الہیہ کے گوشہٴ حق

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کرمیاش بهمنی کوکل دوسو درخت کوکل کرانده رسیده

مؤیدین سیرت و احسان و اقلیت و اکثر و مخالفان و موافقان

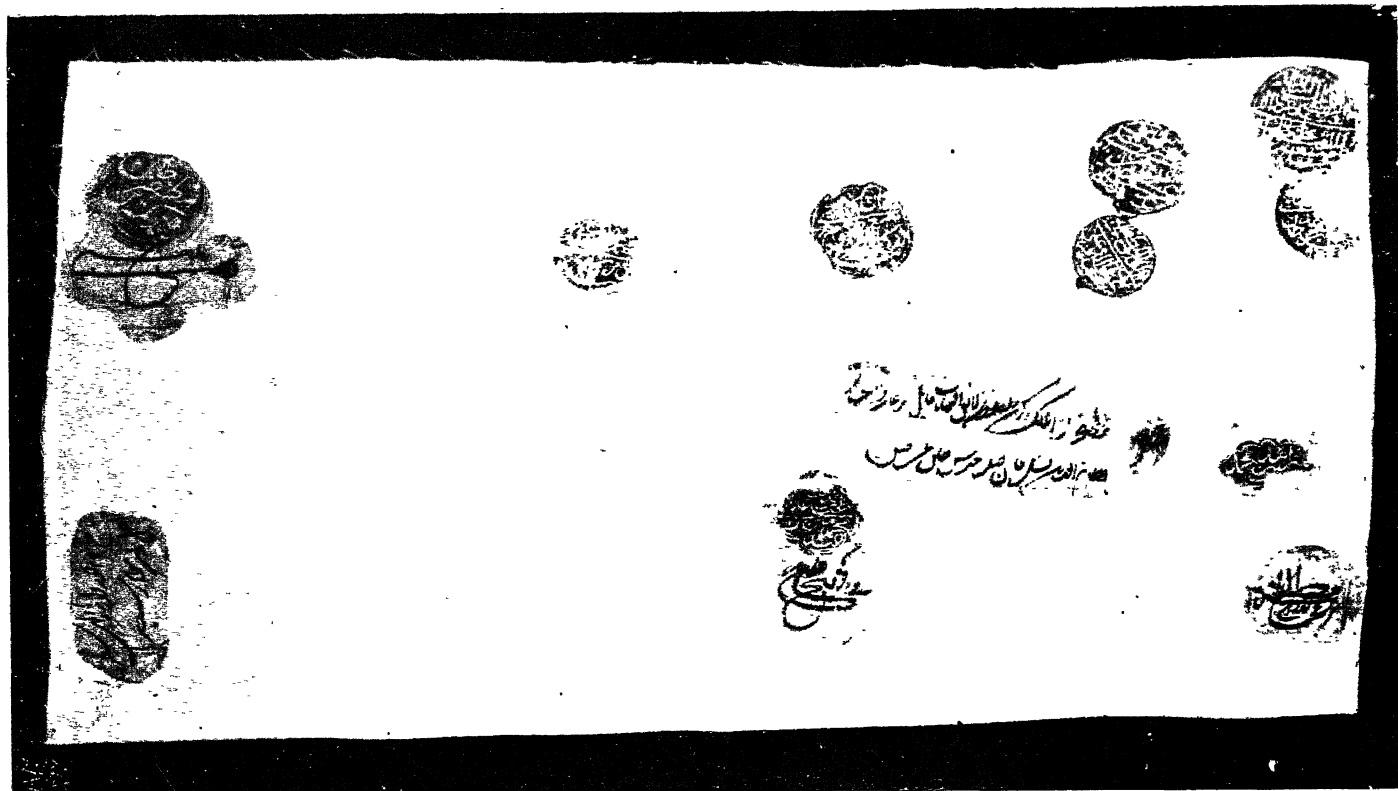
وہی ہے جس نے ان کو یہ سچا ہوا بتایا تھا کہ اگر وہ اپنے آپ کو بڑے آدمی کے طور پر دیکھیں تو ان کی زندگی میں کتنا فرق پڑے گا۔

مجلس شورای اسلامی ایران - تهران - ۱۳۵۷

[illegible]

و سپارو ستاڻاڻن جي ٻڌڻي ۾ ڪنهن به ڪردار جي ڪا به اهميت نه ڏني وئي. ان ڪري انهن ٻن ڪردارن جي ڪا به اهميت نه ڏني وئي.

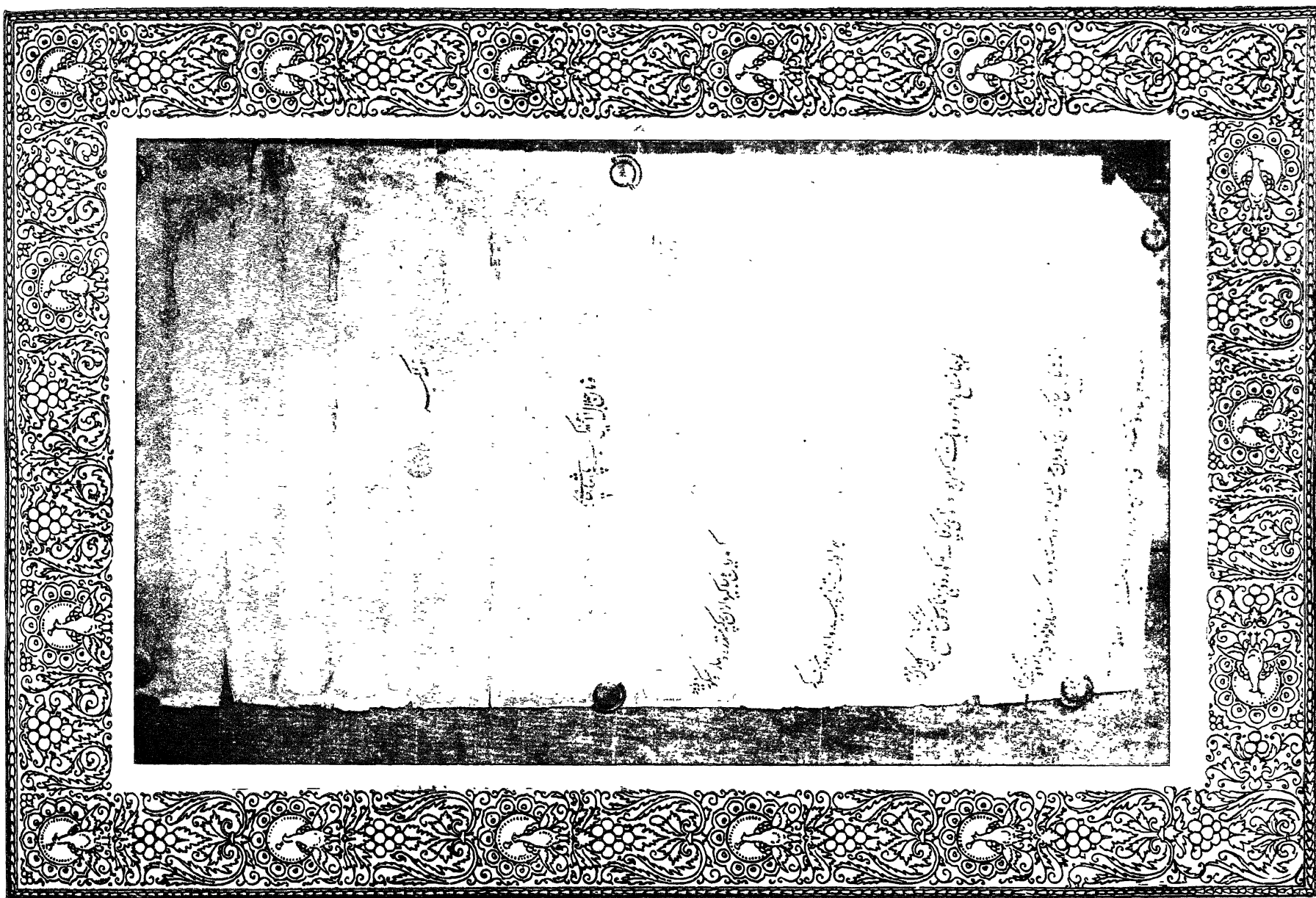
معرفی کا یہ بیخناق پانی مٹکے اور بوند بوند عانی ڈال کر پوند و بوند خیز کر لے کر سمجھ کر دلا دلا کر لہر لہر نہ

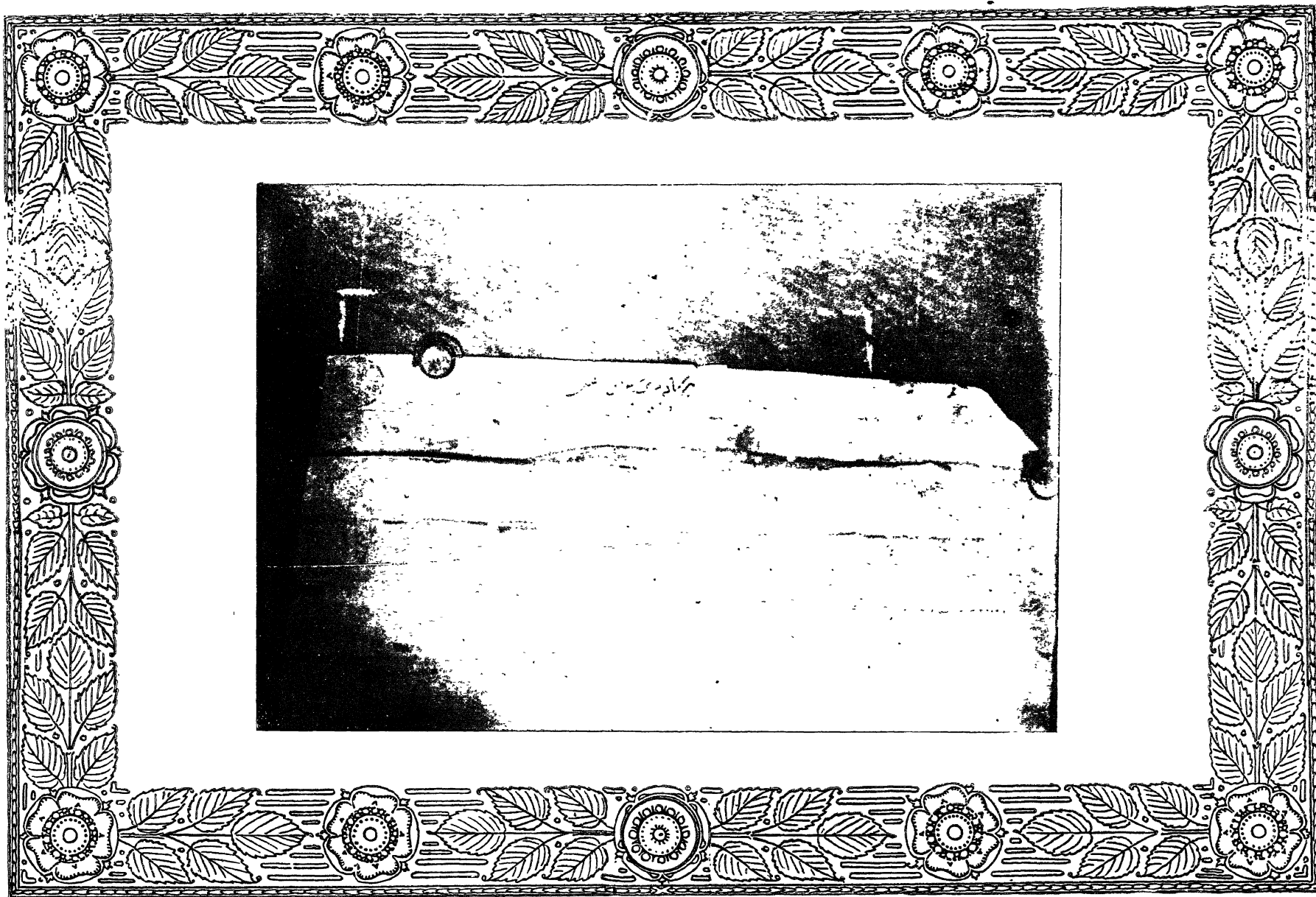


مفتی محمد رفیع الرحمن صاحب
مدظلہ العالی

مدظلہ العالی

مدظلہ العالی





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فوائد من كتاب التفسير

17

دنیو فرانس عالیہ اسلامیہ تعلیمات

وہ ہوا کہ اس نے اپنے ایک دوست کو لکھا کہ

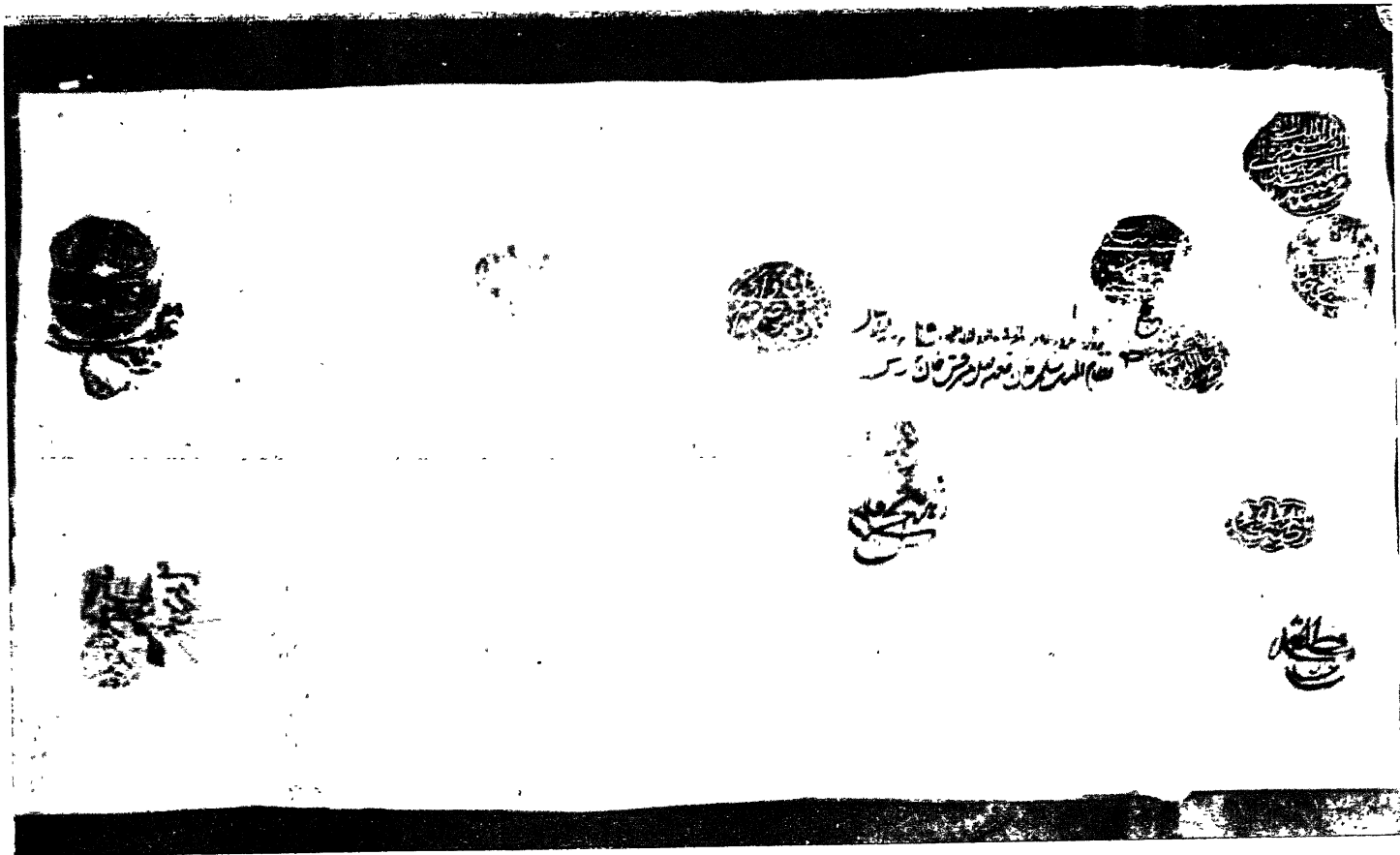
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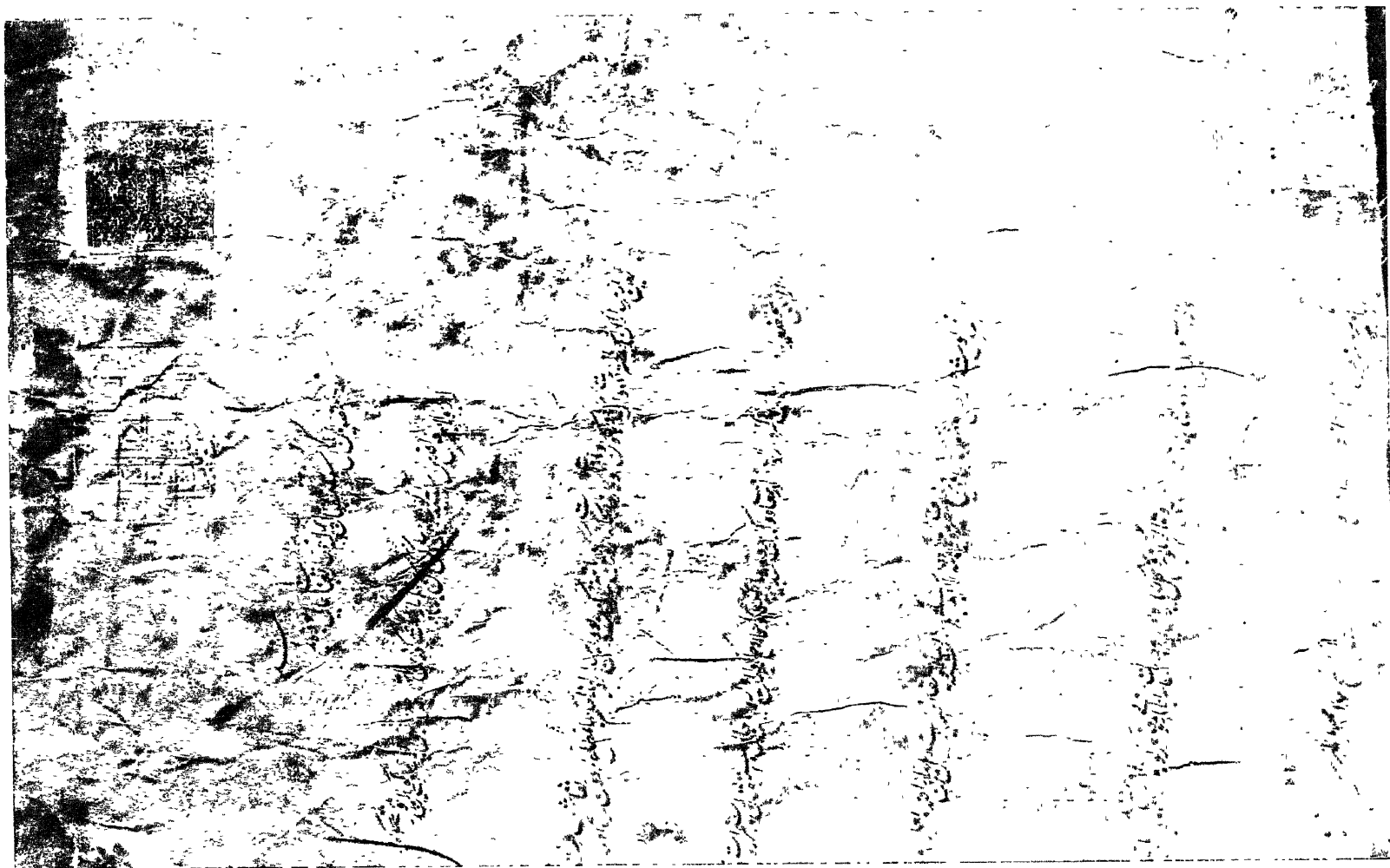
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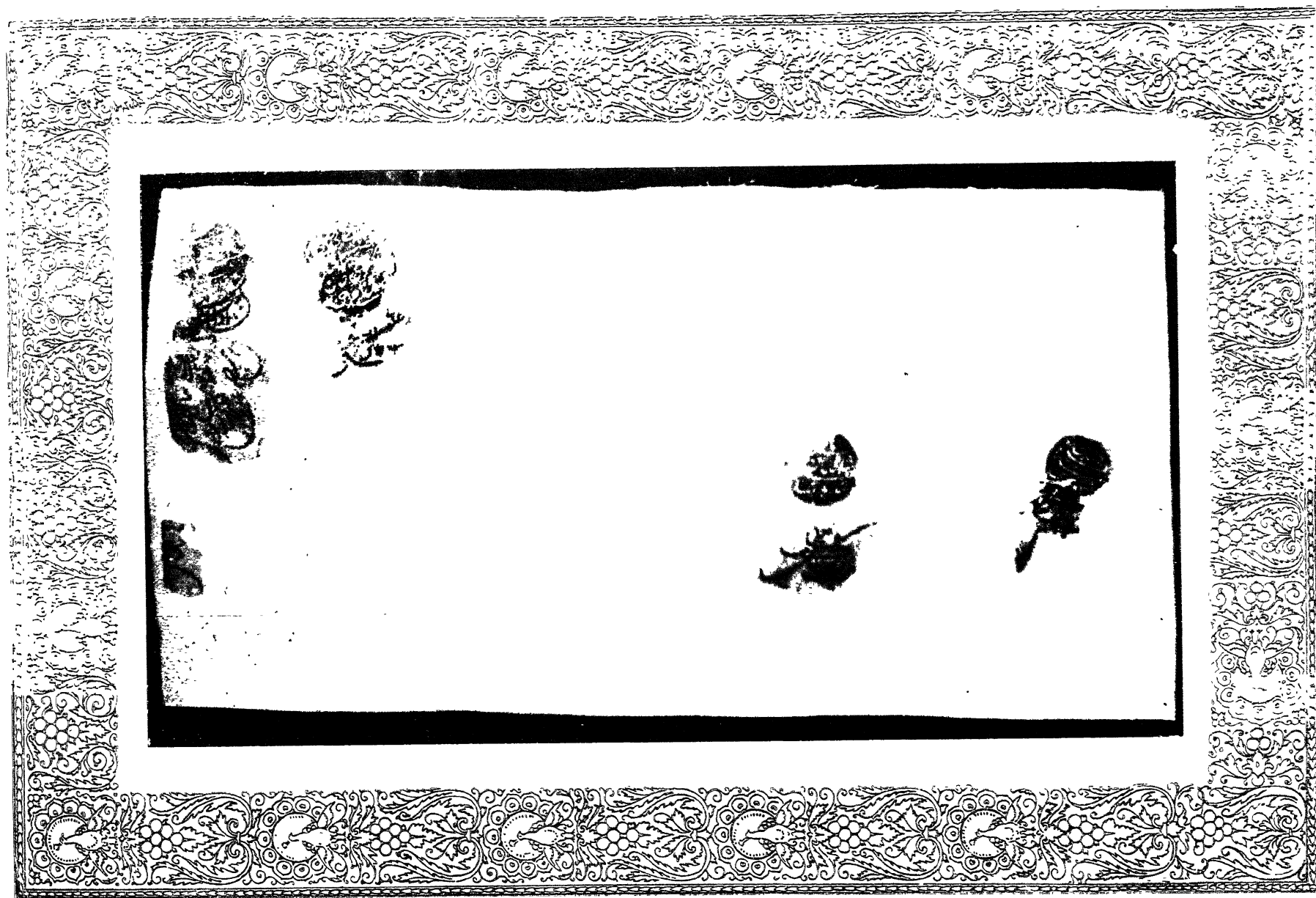
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
الذي كنا لنهتدي لہ

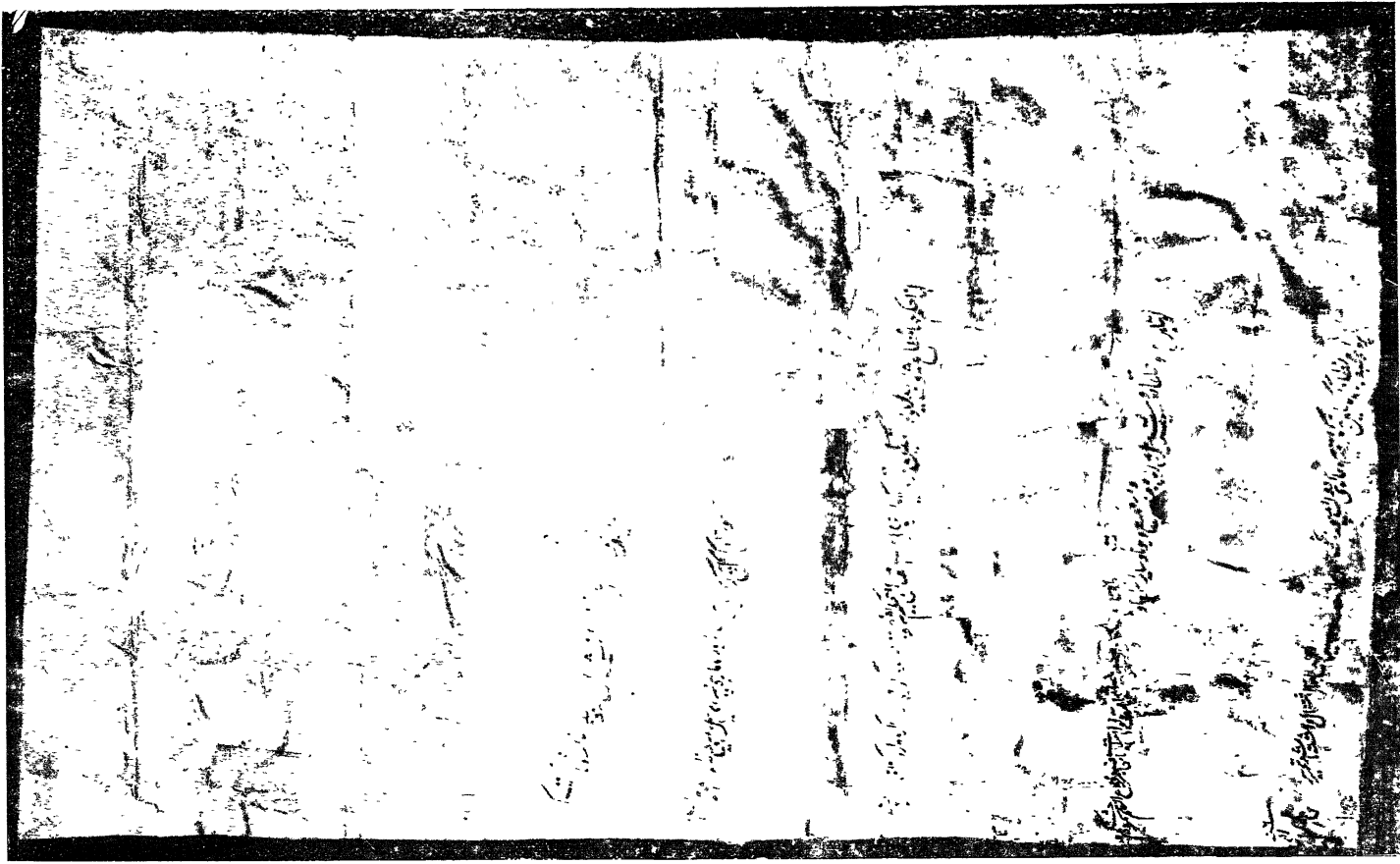
پیر فرخو اللہ نے اپنے شاگرد سید محمد علی کو یہ نصیحت کی کہ

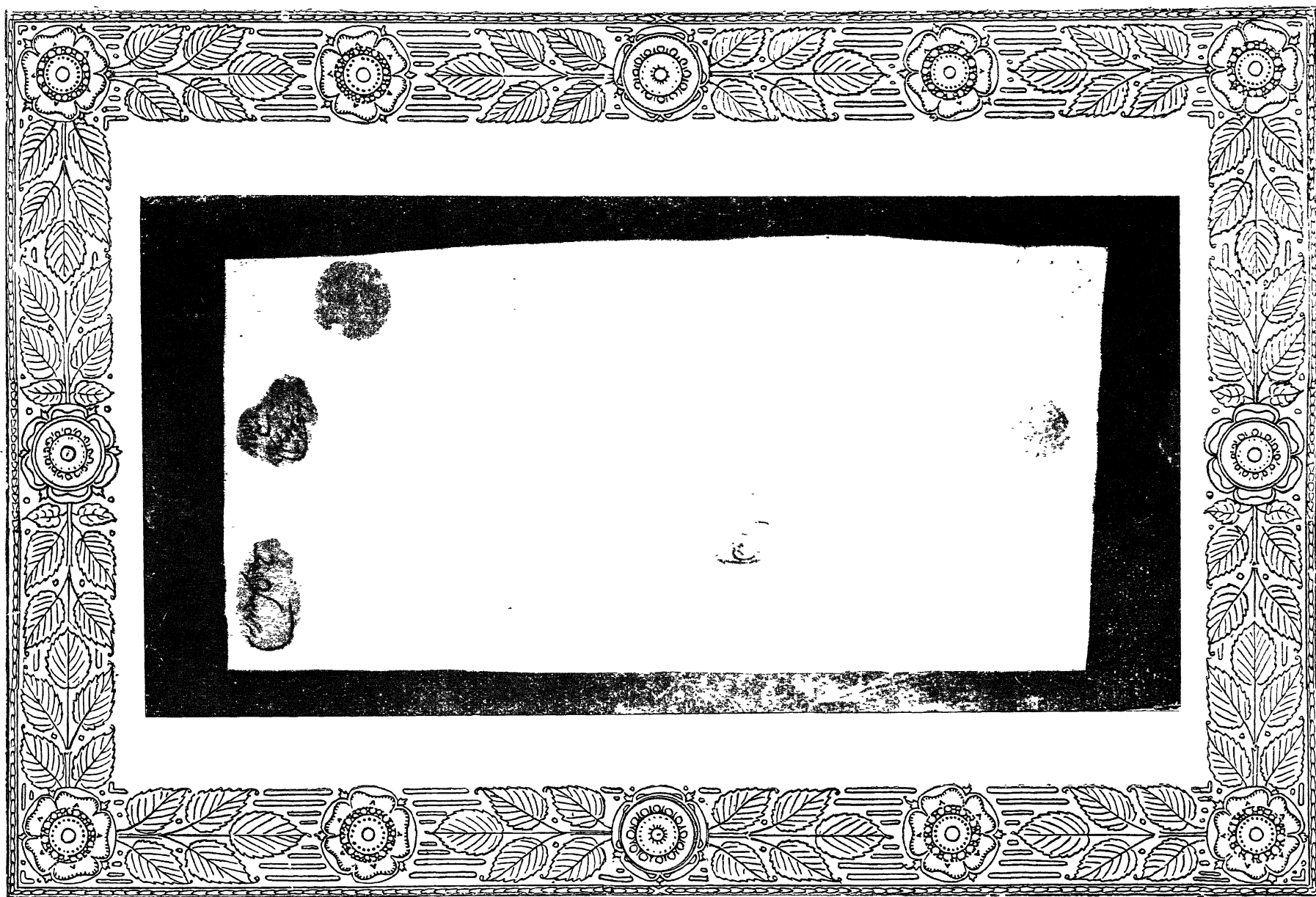
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چون مبارک شاه فرموده و در سیدت و در بزرگشده و انت در مینا و
 در کاشی چون ار اسکان رفت بکین بت بر بزم شاهنشیر شد مشک مود شده

در وقت میان ما نشان

تو که با انت کین

شاید بر بزم این مقام

در شاهزاده ای امید

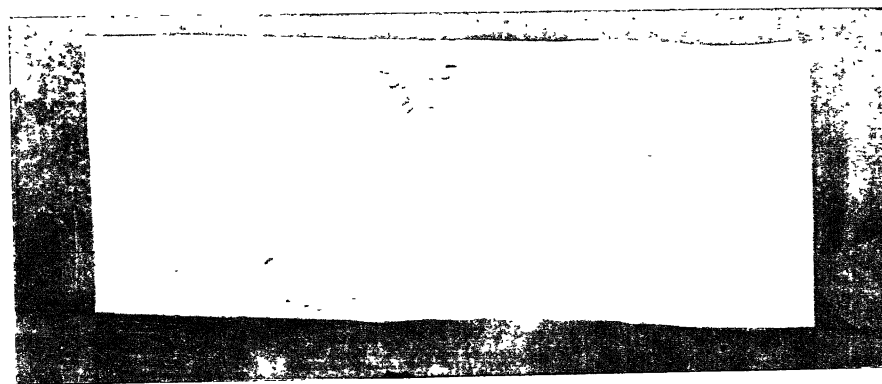
الیزا و خوشی خنده



وله وقت در شاهزاده ای این دولت بر بزم است و در قفسه کو کین

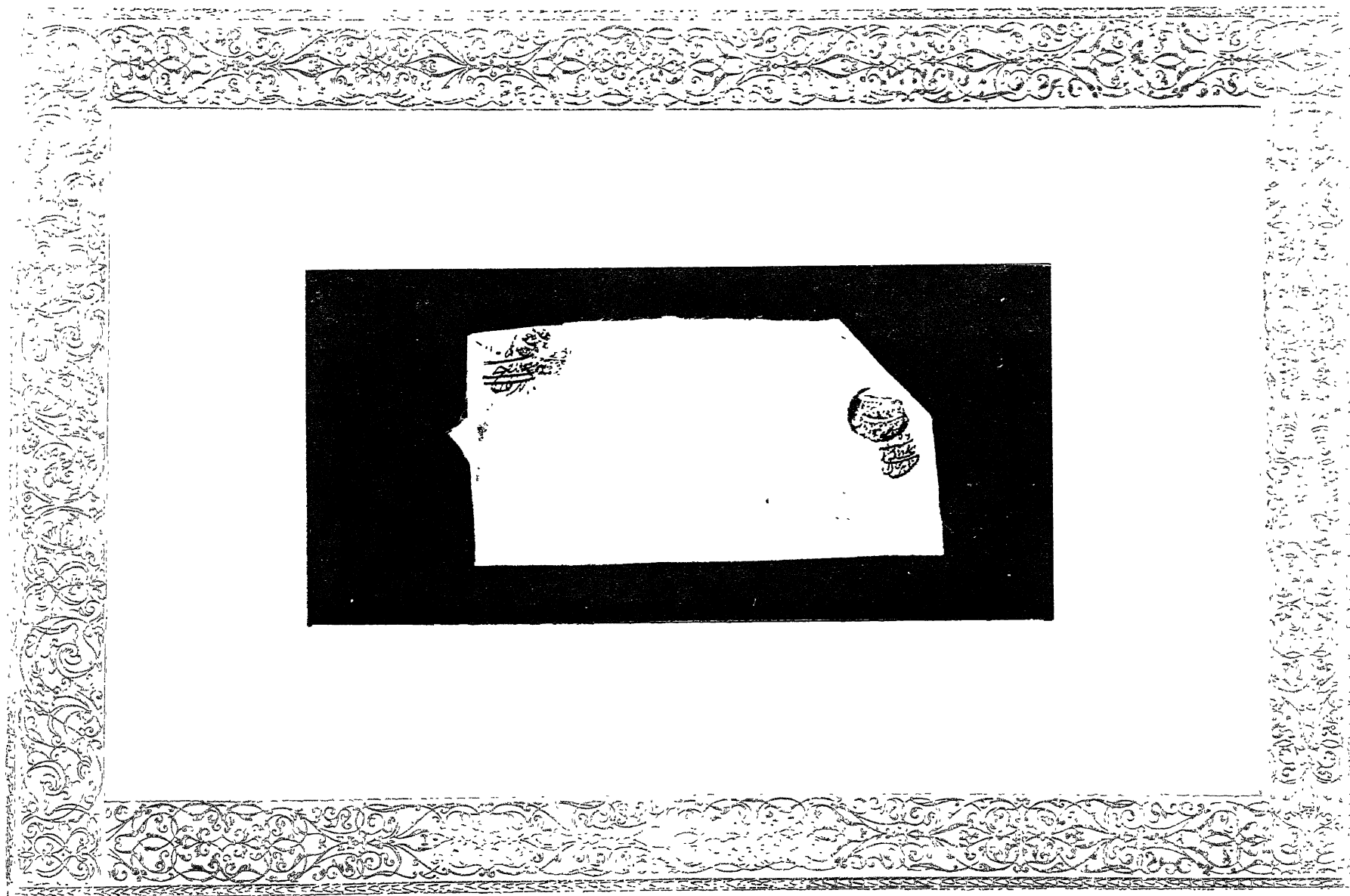
بزم می ایستد عال و دانشی است کین که در قفسه کو کین

فغان کای و در قفسه کو کین که در قفسه کو کین



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قصدی است حال ملاغبان که خواهان آنند که با هم تمام
 کربانی دهند و در کفایت خود فروزانند و به کفایت خود
 بیکبار در صلوات آنهم بختی در صلواتی در کفایت خود
 نهاده اند که کربانی است که در کفایت خود بیکبار در صلوات
 مدد خود کرد و در کفایت خود بیکبار در صلوات
 خود مدد خود بیکبار در صلوات خود بیکبار در صلوات
 صلوات خود بیکبار در صلوات خود بیکبار در صلوات
 سید نه از این فراتر بختی در کفایت خود بیکبار در صلوات
 سرور باقی است که کربانی است که در کفایت خود بیکبار در صلوات
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 در این کفایت خود بیکبار در صلوات خود بیکبار در صلوات



الحمد لله

مصدق في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٢٨٥ هـ

بأمر من

الشيخ

محمد بن

علي بن

علي بن

لیریز نوع نباتات العارف انرا تمام قوتها

در سبک بر او طبع عوام طبع بی باطن شایسته مقام

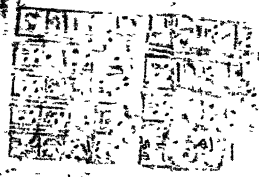
کوکب
خبر ما عارفانست
اس کو تو غفلت است اما اینست که گوشت پاکیزگی می پرورد و نورش

که کمالی که از او این عالم پرورده است با قوت پروردگار آن، جوهره کمالی که در او

مثال سانی و افعال از تصور پروردگار شد، بطریق خودی، بآرامش احاطه از سبک که در او کمالی

باین منزه است و در عالم پروردگار است، چه که در او کمالی که در او کمالی است که در او کمالی

تو در سبک که در او کمالی است و در او کمالی است که در او کمالی است که در او کمالی



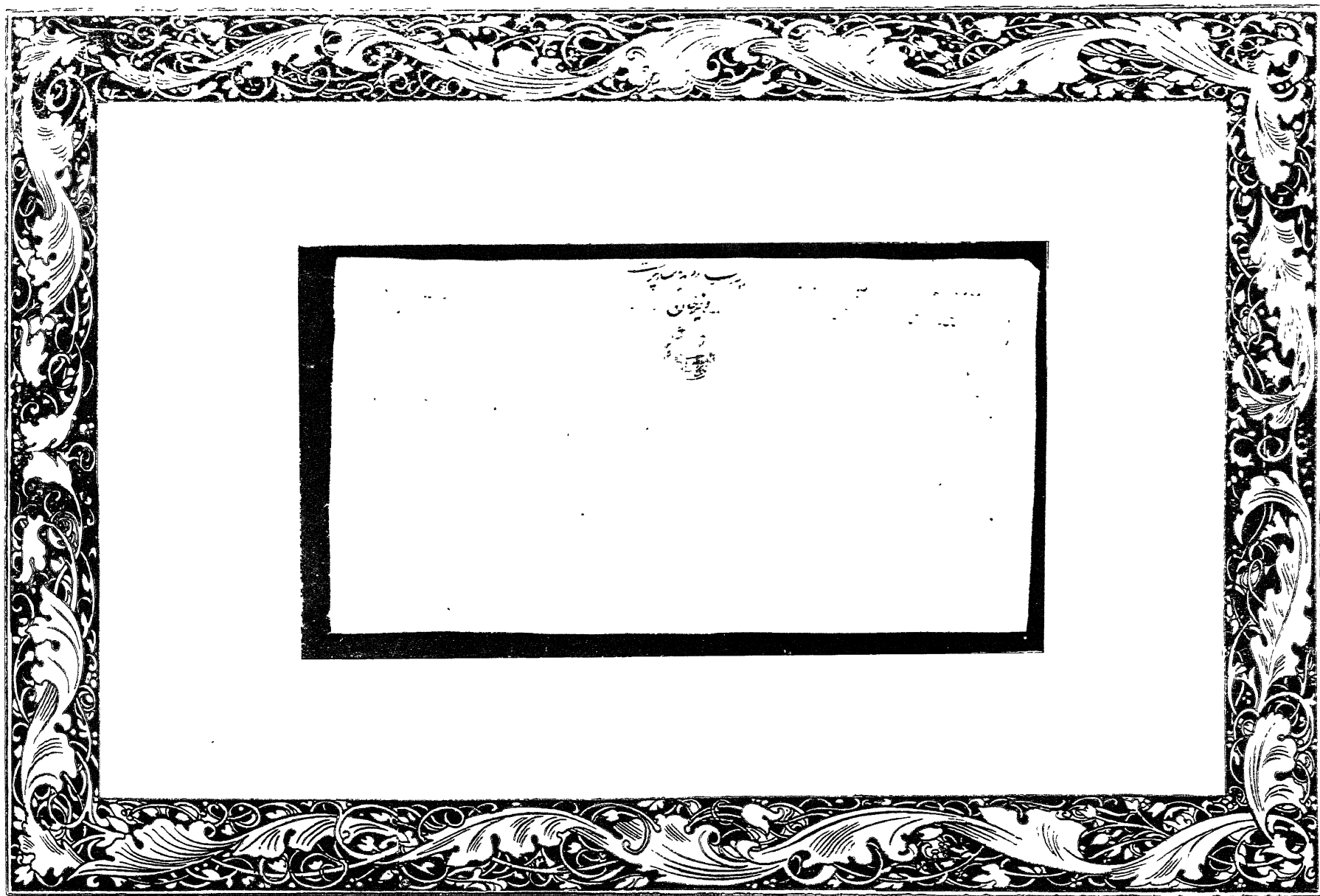
تسلیان حسینیه پت کابل زنده باد

پت چارسنگ کابل زنده باد

تقدیر و کرامت که در این کتابچه درج شده است، هر یک از اینها را در این کتابچه

درج شده است و هر یک از اینها را در این کتابچه درج شده است

تقدیر و کرامت که در این کتابچه درج شده است، هر یک از اینها را در این کتابچه



شسته شانی و رنگار



تسار طاعتان است بکمال

بنایت شادان پادشاه بود

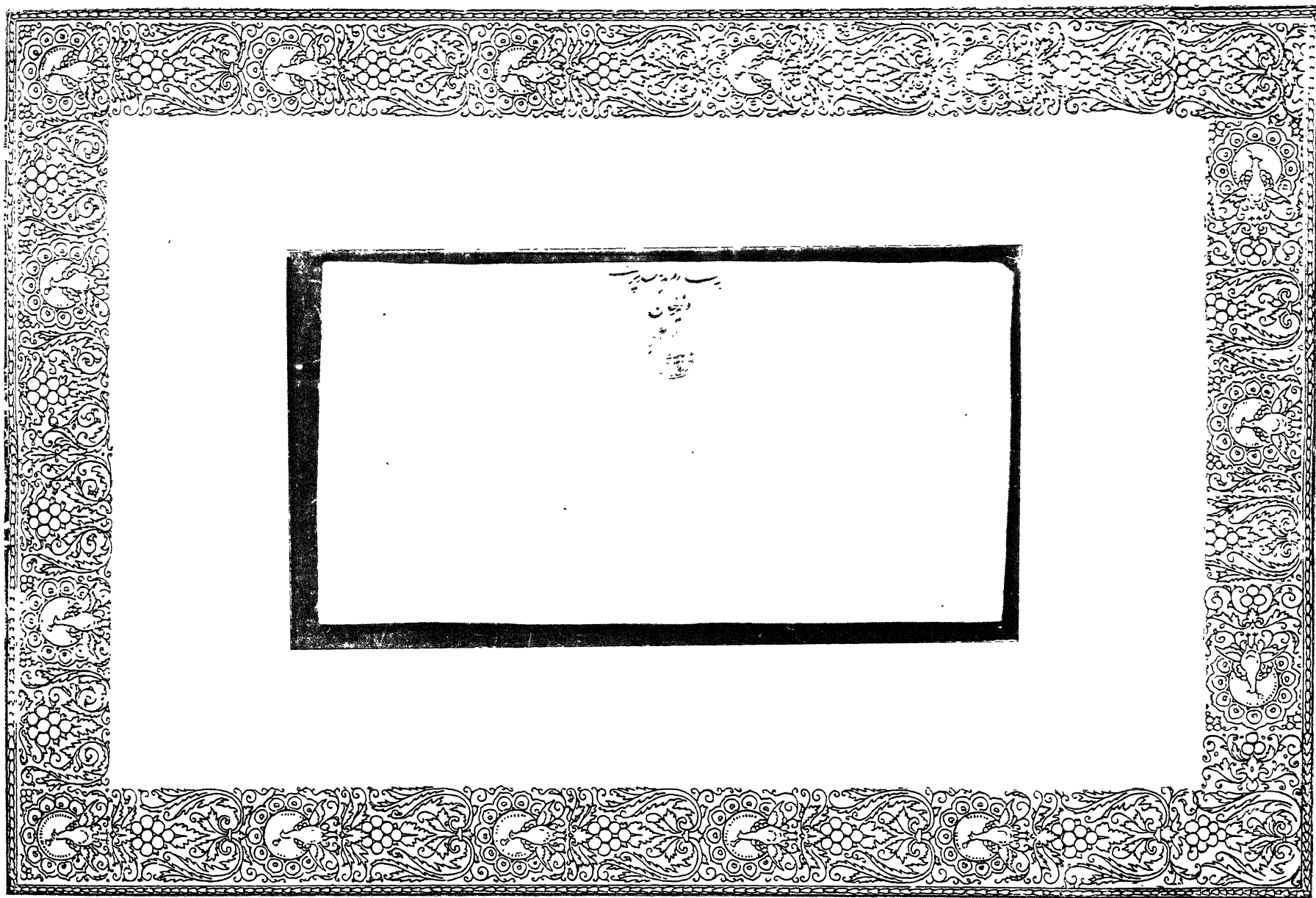
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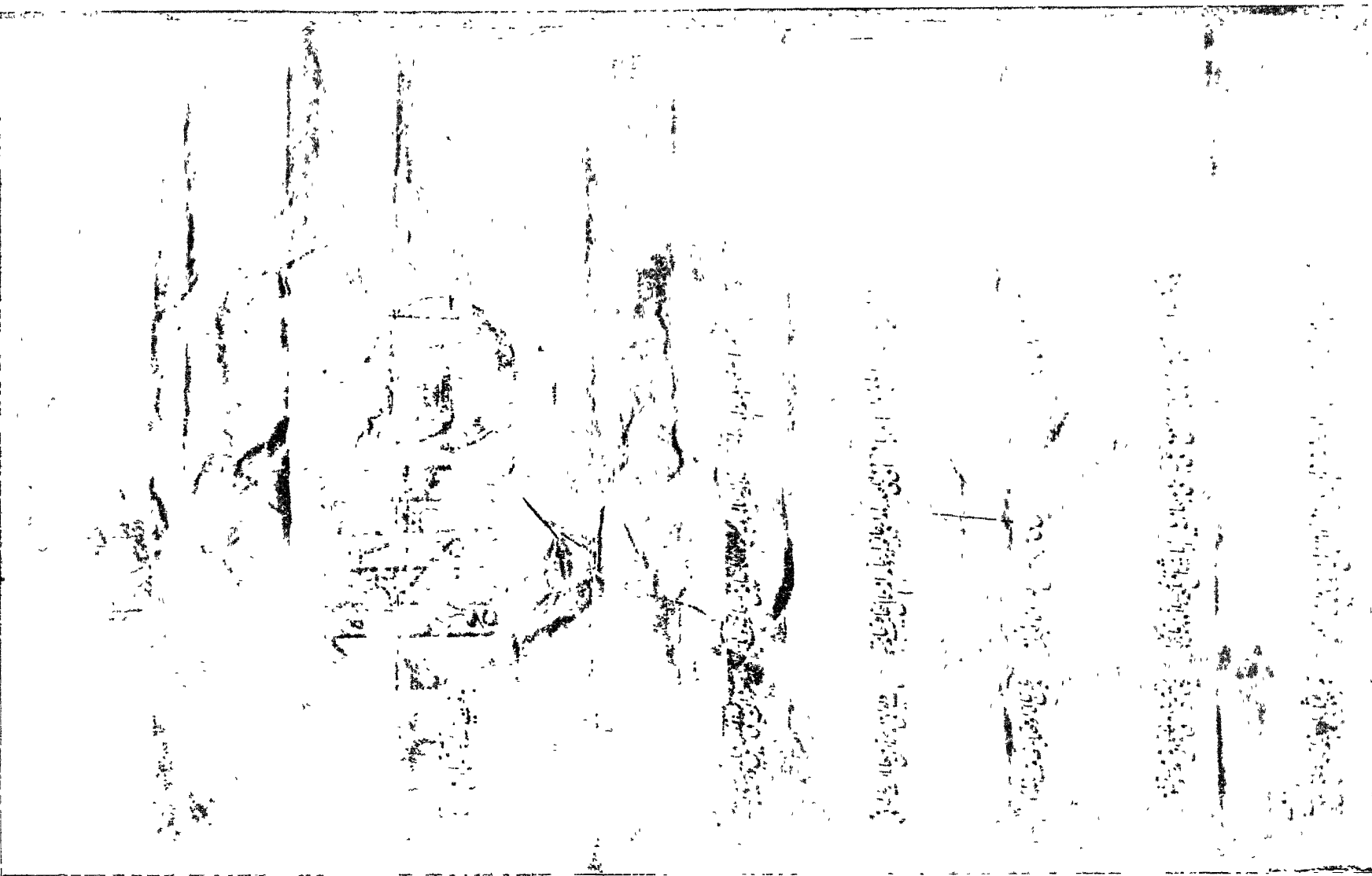
پیران کرامت یکتا بود که اولی - توبه و بعد از موت که در روز و زمان قیامت

شسته و بزرگ بکمال است شرف صدوی یا که آنوقت از این است

بشاد قش و آینه و ستور سابق بر کرد و در تملک و میر و ستفانی که دیگر و تملک

شسته و بزرگ بکمال است شرف صدوی یا که آنوقت از این است





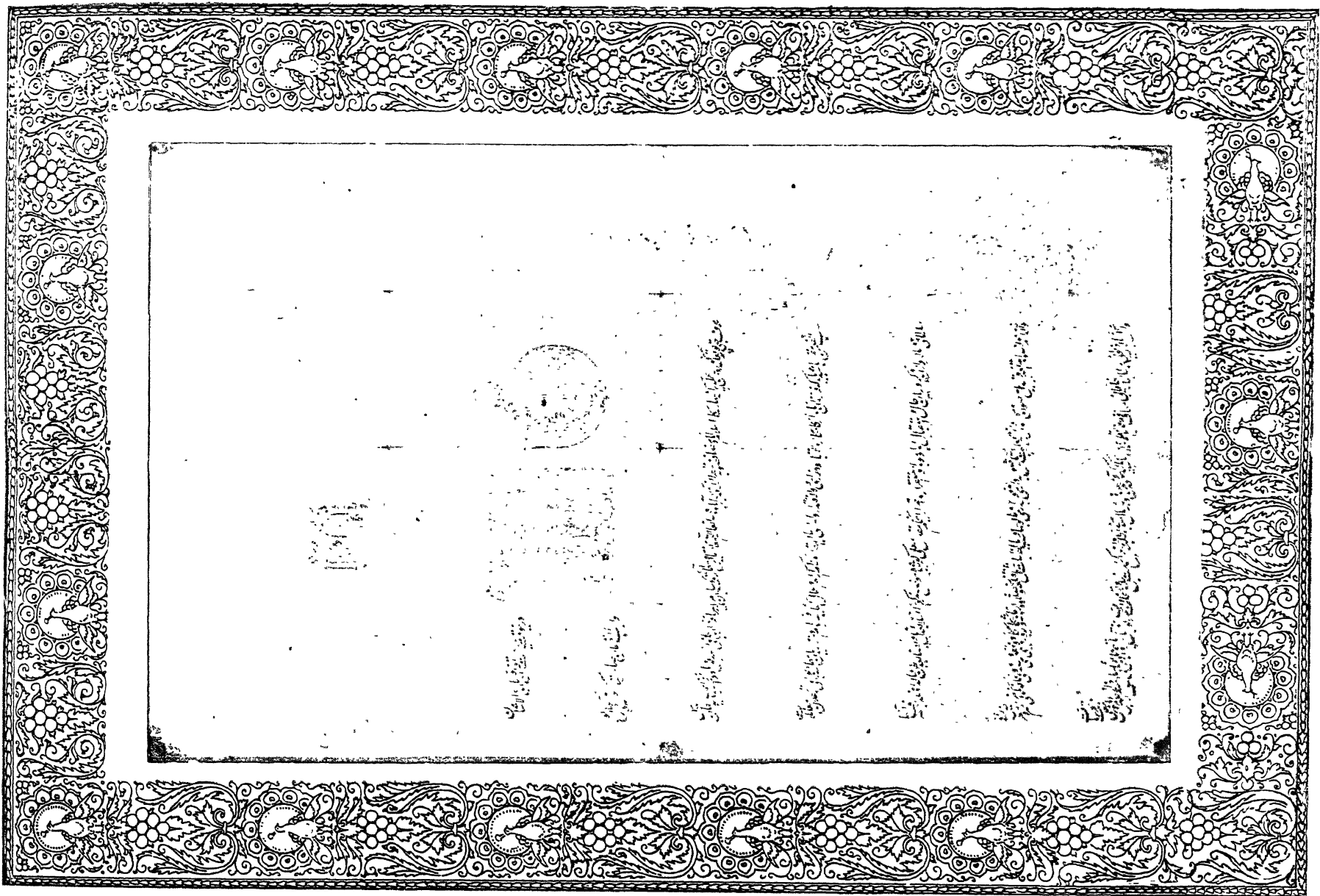
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
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الطاهرين

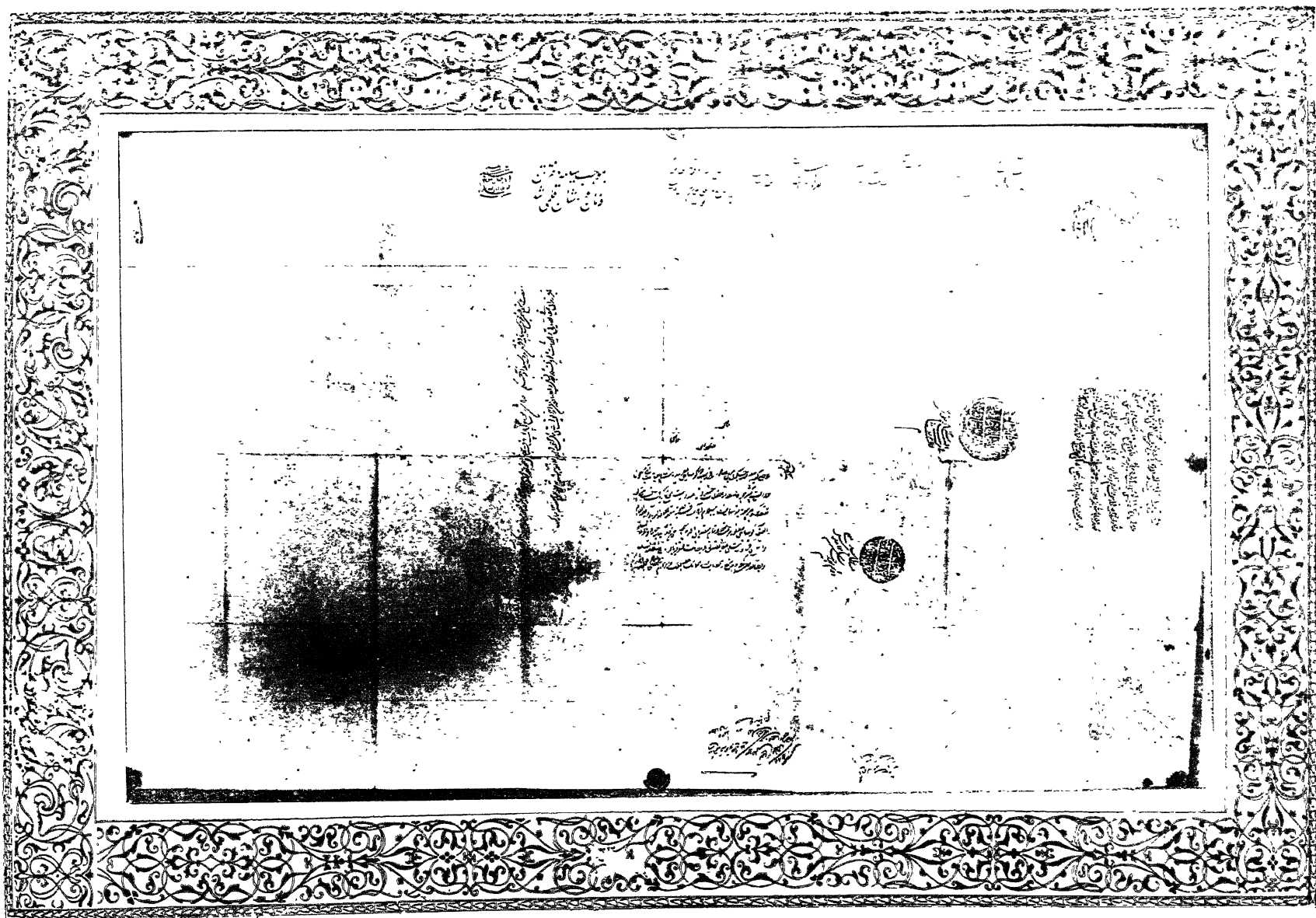
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
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الطاهرين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
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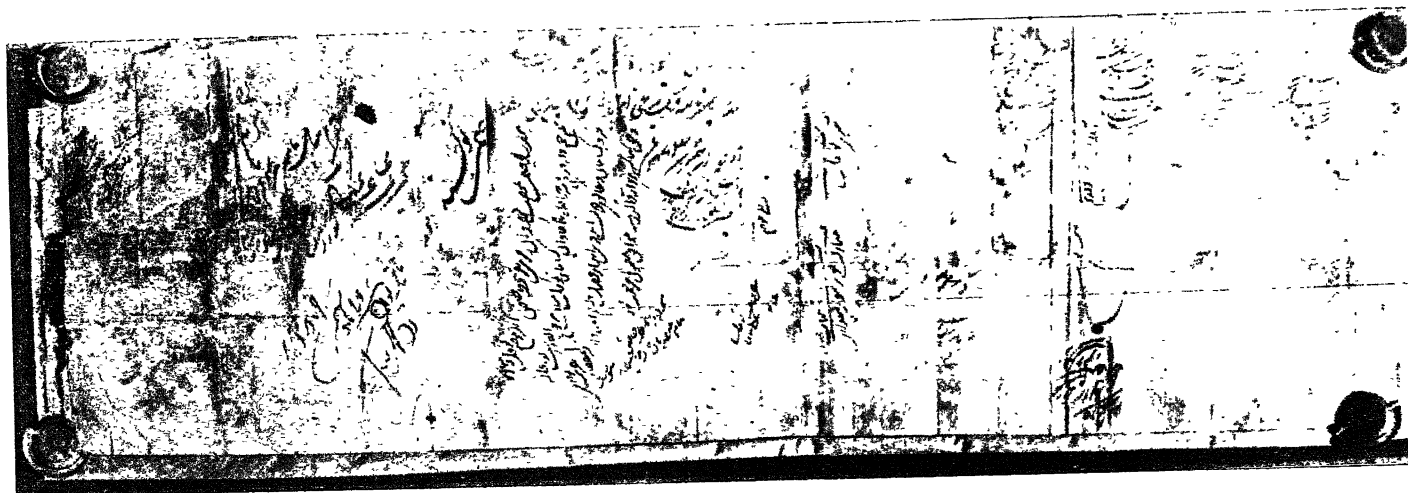
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
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والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين







بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
الحمد لله رب العالمین
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين
الذين هم خلائفنا
في الأرضين
والسموات
والذين هم
أئمتنا
في كل زمان
ومكان
والذين هم
أركاننا
في كل
دور
والذين هم
أركاننا
في كل
دور
والذين هم
أركاننا
في كل
دور



I.

HE IS INDEPENDENT.

Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.¹

The Farman² of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.³

As Vithaldas, indisputably a prayer-offerer (for our well-being) is a resident of the Kasba⁴ (town) of Gokul, it is meet that no one out of the servants of the World-protecting Court, and others besides them, should molest the above mentioned indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher), his relatives and retainers, and by no manner of means should demand or call for anything from them. They must allow him to live in his place and home, easy at heart, so that he might engage himself in praying for our daily increasing fortune and the perpetuity of our eternity allied dignity. They must act according to what is written, and should not go contrary to it.

Written on 29th of Jamadi the Second A. H. 985 (Friday 13th September A. D. 1577 (O. S.) Samvat year 1634).



II.

HE IS GREAT.¹

God is Great.²

The Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.

At this time we have ordered that the cows of the indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher) Vithalrai, wearer of the sacred thread (Brahmin), wherever they are, should be allowed to graze. In Khalsa³ or Jagir (lands), no one should injure or obstruct them in the least. They should not be prevented (from grazing). His cows should be allowed to graze. The above-named (i. e., Vithalrai) may reside in Gokul with an easy heart. It is incumbent (on all) to act according to the order and to carry it out. They should not act contrary to what is ordered. Written on the 3rd day of the month of Safar, A. H. 989 (Thursday, 9th March A. D. 1581 (O. S.) Samvat year 1638).



III.

HE IS GREAT.

Hamideh Banu Daughter of Ali Akbar.¹

Order of Hamideh Banu Begam.²

May³ it be known to the Karori⁴ and diligent officer and others of the Paraganah⁵ of Mahaban in the Sarkar of the Great Seat (Capital) of the Empire, Agra, that according to the Farman of the Exalted and the Just (Emperor), the cows belonging to the indisputable prayer-offerer (well-wisher) Vithalesharai, wearer of the sacred thread (Brahmin), may graze, wherever they are, and not a single individual out of the Khalsa or Jagir (land-holders) should molest them or prevent them (from grazing). They must permit his cows to graze (wherever they are). The above mentioned (Vithalrai) should therefore remain easy at heart. It is incumbent (on all), that they must act according to the order and carry it out, and they should not act contrary to and against it (should not deviate from it). Written on the 10th day of Ramzan al Mubarak. A. H. 989, Sunday (8th October A. D. 1581 (O. S.) Samvat Year 1638).





IIIA.

GOD IS GREAT.

*Order of Khan Khanan¹, Disciple²,
Khan Bahadur, Commander-in-Chief.*

Be it known to the present and future Officers of the Paraganah, that as in the villages of Savi etc.,³ there is the grazing land for cows⁴ and oxen belonging to Gordhan,⁵ they should not prohibit or obstruct them on the ground of watching charges and counting the head of cattle, because the villages have been purposely given in grant. They should act in conformity with the Order of the Exalted (One), and take action accordingly. On no pretext should a new permit be demanded every year.

Written on Roz Azar, Azar month⁶ Elahi 33rd (Regnal) year, corresponding to the 11th of the month of Moharram ul Haram A. H. 997. (1st December (N. S.) A. D. 1588).

Seal on the Back: Beg Khan, Disciple of Khan Khanan.



Entered on 11th of Moharram ul Haram. A. H. 997.'

Round Seal in middle of right hand margin, contains the words, Khan Khanan, the Disciple of Akbar Shah.

Above the Seal, is a note written crosswise, viz., that the recitals in the deed should be complied with.



IV.*

GOD IS GREAT.

HE IS INDEPENDENT.

JALALUDDIN MOHAMMAD AKBAR BADSHAH, GHAZI,

Son of Nasiruddin Mohammad Humayun Badshah, Ghazi, son of Zahiruddin Mohammad Babar Badshah, Ghazi Son of Umar Shaikh Shah, son of Abu Sa'eed Sultan, son of Mohammad Miran Shah, son of Amir Timur.¹ 999.

The Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.

At this time, (which is) founded on happiness, the Farman of the Exalted (one) received the honor of promulgation that Gosain^A (Goswami) Vithalrai, a resident of Gokul, has purchased on paying its price land from the owners thereof in the Mowzah of Jatipura, situated in the Parganah, adjoining Gordhan, and has caused to be built thereon buildings, gardens, cowsheds and Karkhanas (workshops) for the temple of Gordhan Nath, and is residing and staying there. Therefore the order (which should be) obeyed by the world finds the honor of issue (is issued) that the above mentioned Mowzah has been given over tax free (ma'af), into the

possession of the abovenamed Goswami, from descendant to descendant.³ Therefore all Collectors,⁴ Civil officers,⁵ Karoris, Jagirdars,⁶ and landholders (Zamindars), present and future, should strive after (the fulfilment of) this Order, Exalted as the heavens, and leave in the possession of the abovenamed (person) the above Mowzah with the land purchased, descendant after descendant (from generation to generation), and they should not molest and harass him with the demands of the forbidden imposts, or civil levies,⁷ or Imperial taxes or land tax⁸ or imposts on manufacture [perquisites on handicrafts, Ain, Vol. II, P. 47] or other⁹ extraordinary contributions or of the produce of the trees^{9A} there. And they should not demand a renewed Farman or Parwana.¹⁰ They should not deviate in this matter (from the above Orders), so that the Knowledge (Learning) endowed Goswami, feeling grateful for (this) Imperial favour may daily engage¹¹ himself in praying for the good of the (our) eternity-allied Kingdom. Written on the 9th day of Khoradad Month Elahi Year¹² 38. (A. H. 1001; Sunday, 20th May (O. S.), 31st May (N. S.) A. D. 1593, Samvat year 1651).



The Seal at the Back is of Abul Fazl ⁴(son of) Mubarak.

The Endorsement reads:

*In the Risalah of the humblest of Disciples, Abul Fazl⁴, the Waka'e Navis
being Khajah Hatam.*



V.

GOD IS GREAT.

HE IS INDEPENDENT.

Seal.¹

The Farman of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, Ghazi.

At this time, an Exalted Farman, significant of good Fortune found the honor of issue, (to the effect) that as the Mowzah of Gokul together with the Guzar Ghat² in the Paraganah of Mahavan, has been settled and entrusted (given over) to Goswami Vithalrai, in perpetuity (descendant after descendant) for the expenses of the Thakordwar (Idol temple), an (this) Order (which should be) obeyed by the world has secured the honor of publicity, that all Civil officers,³ Jagirdars,⁴ Karoris,⁵ Revenue collectors,⁶ and Chaudharies⁷ should strive to act according to the Exalted Order and allow the above mentioned Mowzah together with the ford (passage) [to remain] in the possession of the abovesaid (individual); they should not change or alter it in the slightest degree, and they should not worry him with demands of land taxes, or imposts on manufacturers, or any kind of capitation tax,⁸

or extraordinary contribution or civil levies (dues) or Imperiai demands,⁹ considering him absolved¹⁰ from all these. They should not call for a (new) Farman or Parwancheh from him every year, so that the abovementioned person having become contented with his condition on account of Royal favours may engage himself in praying for the good Fortune of the (our) eternity allied Kingdom. Written on the fifteenth day of the month of Khordad Elahi Year 38. (Saturday, 26th May (O. S.) 5th June (N. S.) A. D. 1593, 5th Ramazan, A. H. 1001, Samvat year 1651).



VI.

GOD IS GREAT.

Seal.

SEAL.

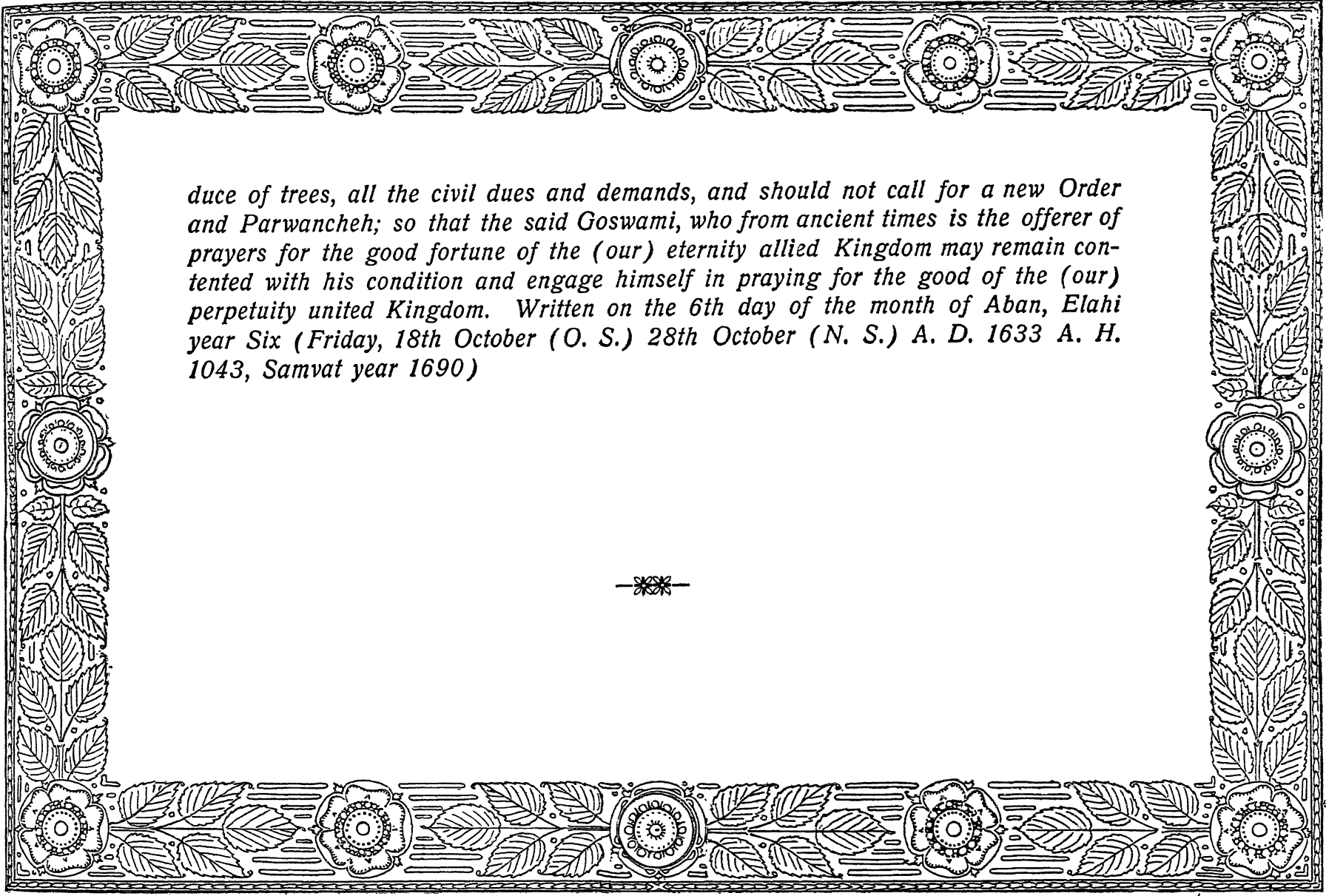
(With) Farman of Shah Jahan.

May the officers, present and future, of the Paraganah of Sahar¹ who are there on account of the favour of the Exalted (One), know that during this time a petition has been received by (His Majesty) the Most Sacred, that the Goswami Vithalrai Tikayet^{1A} of Gordhan Nath, resident of Gokul, having purchased lands from Zamindars (with money) adjoining Gordhan in the Mowzah of Jatipura alias Gopalpur and caused buildings, sheds for cows, gardens, (and) workshops for the god Gordhan Nath to be built there, has also been living there, hence the Order, (which should be) obeyed by the world and which is as Exalted as the heavens, has found the honour of promulgation, that the lands of that Mowzah have been granted by His Majesty for his use and for expenses of the Thakordwar, tax free, and exempted (from payment of dues). It is incumbent on all the Governors² and revenue Collectors,³ Jagirdars, present and future, that they should strive for the continuance


and confirmation of this Most Exalted Order, and allow the lands of the abovementioned Mowzah to remain in the possession of the abovenamed person from descendant to descendant, (bakha Kui Nil?) and they should not change or alter it at all or in the least, and not molest (them) on account of the payment of land taxes, imposts on manufactures, capitation (tax), Royal¹ fee, half of ten-five per cent tax⁵, mukaddami,⁶ Sad dui,⁷ (two per cent tax), Kanungoi⁸ (fees of officers acquainted with land tenures), civil levies and Imperial demands, in respect of the abovenamed Mowzah. They should not ask for a renewed Farman and Parwancheh every year, and should not act contrary to or deviate from the Order. Written on the 17th day of Mehr Elahi Year Six. (Sunday 29th September (O. S.) 9th October (N. S.) A. D. 1633. A. H. 1043. Samvat year 1690).

(Four seals on the back).





duce of trees, all the civil dues and demands, and should not call for a new Order and Parwancheh; so that the said Goswami, who from ancient times is the offerer of prayers for the good fortune of the (our) eternity allied Kingdom may remain contented with his condition and engage himself in praying for the good of the (our) perpetuity united Kingdom. Written on the 6th day of the month of Aban, Elahi year Six (Friday, 18th October (O. S.) 28th October (N. S.) A. D. 1633 A. H. 1043, Samvat year 1690)



IX.

GOD IS GREAT.

Seal.¹

Isahak A'azam Khan-e-Khan, Slave of Shah Jahan, A. H. 1053.

May the Civil officers, present and future, of the Paraganah of Mahaban, know that a man named Natha declared that if the right^{1^} of receipt of the perquisites of weighers in the Market Place (Mandvi)² of Gokul be assigned to him, he would pay Rs. 175³ every year to the Government, (but) as the collections of that Mandvi, according to usage, are never taken by Government⁴, and as it was represented that the abovementioned Natha by this means (that is, if written authority is granted) wants himself to set up (or take possession of) a shop, and (in view thereof) if that is done, the coming and going of traders would be stopped, and in respect of every inhabitant and all residents who usually purchase their grain and other articles at that Market Place, it would be an innovation (new oppression), and as from old times the right of receipt of the perquisites of weighers in the abovementioned Mandvi has been possessed (controlled) by the men of Goswami Vithalrai, and as the traders and purchasers (customers) pay a small amount to the

men of the Goswami willingly and of their own accord, therefore, it has been ordered (confirmed) that for the ease of heart of the creatures of God the door (possession) of that Mandvi should, according to old usage (as heretofore), remain with (in the control of) the men of Goswami Vithalrai, and it should be seen that no one else is allowed to interfere with it, so that traders may come and go with ease of heart, and no innovation be created. This should be known to be the Order in the matter. Written on the 10th of the month of Sh'aban, the Great. A. H. 1056 (Friday 11th September (O. S.) 21st September (N. S.) A. D. 1646, Samvat Year 1703.).



X.

GOD IS GREAT.

The seal of Mukramat Khan,

Servant of Shah Jahan.

Know ye, the Civil officers and Tax collectors, present and future, of the Mahavan Parganah, that as the grain market (Mandvi) of Mowzah Gokul, ¹situated in the said Parganah, has been granted to (given in the possession of) Gosain Girdharlal², therefore it is arranged (ordered) that the abovementioned Mandvi should be allowed to remain with the abovementioned party, according to the usage obtaining hitherto; they should not molest or trouble him in any way. An Order has (therefore) been issued in this matter. Written on the 10th of the month of Safar Khatmulla Elahi Wazzfar in the 20th year of the auspicious ascension (to the throne). (A. H. 1057, Sunday 7th March (O. S.) 17th March (N. S.) A. D. 1647, Samvat year 1704).



XI.

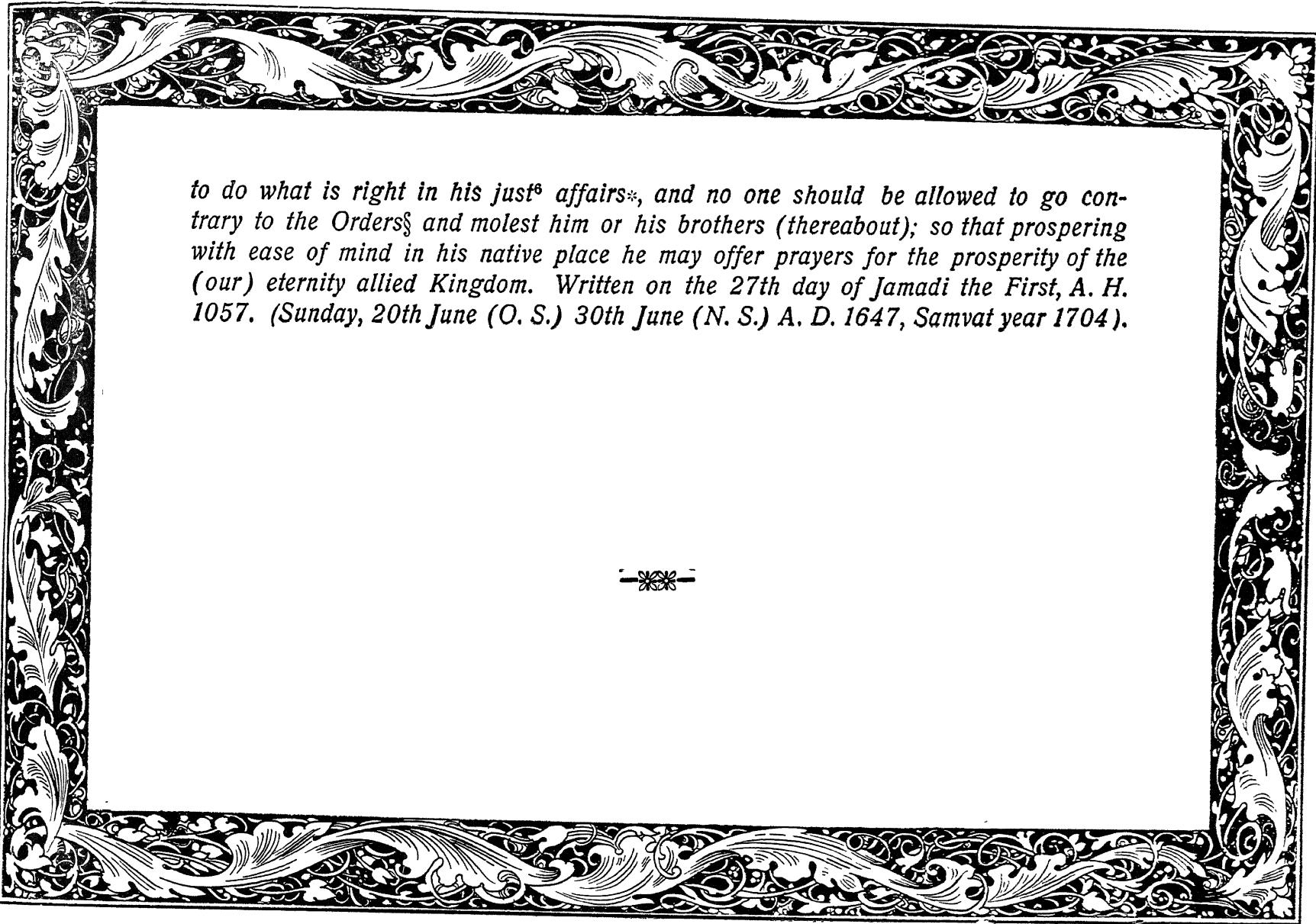
IN THE NAME OF THE MERCIFUL AND THE COMPASSIONATE.

*Farman of*²

*Seal of Mohammad Dara Shikoh,
son of Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi.*¹

*Seal*³

May, Mukramat Khan,⁴ fit for various favours and grace, deserving of different kinds of kindness and presents, the place of numerous kindnesses, and the foundation place of unmeasured gifts, suited for honour and (favour) gratefulness, and fitted for favour and obligation, exalted (gratified) by excess of Imperial favours, know that Vithalrai, son of Damodar, resident of Gokul and Gopalpur, who is one of the prayer offerers for the perpetuity of this eternity allied Kingdom, at this time approached His Exalted Majesty, and informed him of the beneficence of the work (goodness of the rule) of the Prop of the State,⁵ and that having been in due course allowed to return from the Enlightened Presence, he is coming back to his native place. On account of this, (this) Exalted Order is promulgated that if he prefers any request for any business or important affair to the Prop of the State, he should strive to act according to the Order (agreeably to the command) and strive



to do what is right in his just^e affairs, and no one should be allowed to go contrary to the Orders§ and molest him or his brothers (thereabout); so that prospering with ease of mind in his native place he may offer prayers for the prosperity of the (our) eternity allied Kingdom. Written on the 27th day of Jamadi the First, A. H. 1057. (Sunday, 20th June (O. S.) 30th June (N. S.) A. D. 1647, Samvat year 1704).*





XII.

IN THE NAME OF THE MERCIFUL AND THE COMPASSIONATE.

First Square Seal

Round Seal.

*The Farman of Abul Muzaffar
Shahab-ud-din Mohammad Saheb Kiran-e-Sani,
Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi.*

*There is God.
Mohammad Dara Shikoh, of
Exalted Fortune, Son of Shah
Jahan Badshah, Ghazi.*

Second Square Seal.

*Nishan-e-Alishan Shah-e-Buland Ikbāl
Mohammad Dara Shikoh.*

Be it known to the Civil officers of the Paraganah, present and future, who are desirous of (obtaining) Royal Favour, that as it was represented to the Exalted (Emperor), that cows belonging to the Temple of Gordhan Nath, situated in the village of Gopalpur go for grazing on lands in the villages of Bachha Gam and Bachha which are in their Paraganah, an illustrious Order (hereby) finds the

honour of promulgation, that whatever the number of cows belonging to the above mentioned Temple, that go to those lands for grazing, they should not be molested or prohibited on the ground of (getting) grazing fees. They should not show avarice and greed; they should consider this a strong Order in this matter.

Written on the Eighthth of the month of Jamadi the Second in the 32nd year of the auspicious and Honored Accession, corresponding with the Hijri year 1068 (Wednesday 3rd March (O. S.) 13th March (N. S.) A. D. 1658.)

Endorsement on the Back:

In the Risalah of Vazir Khan, a disciple worshipping his Teacher.

Round Seal of Vazir Khan, servant of the Shah of Exalted Fortune.



XIII.

IN THE NAME OF THE MERCIFUL AND THE COMPASSIONATE.

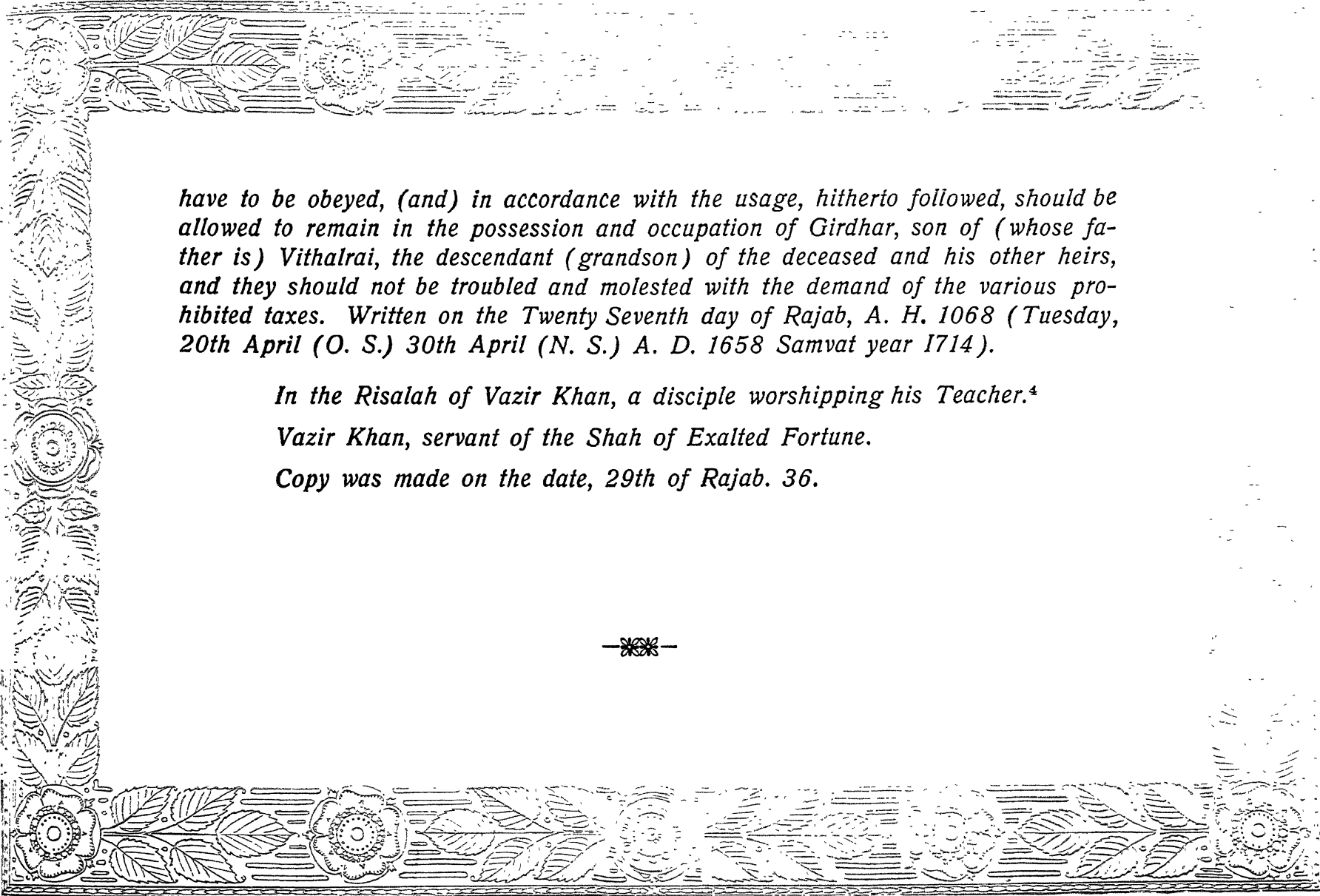
Seal of Dara Shikoh¹.

Seal of Farman of Shah Jahan²

Seal of Dara Shikoh.³

*His Majesty whose Threshold
is the Ninth Heaven (or Nest-
ing in the Throne of God) and
whose Abode is Paradise.**

*May the Civil officers, present and future, of the Paraganah of Mahaban,
(and) desirous of the favour of the Emperor, know that, as a request has been made
to the Most High, that in accordance with the Exalted Farman, the Mowzah of Gokul,
in the control of the abovementioned Paraganah, has been wholly granted by way of
charity (as a charitable endowment) to Girdhar, Sevak (worshipper) of the Tha-
kordwar (idol temple) of Gokulnath, and that after the death of the abovementioned
Girdhar, his heirs are in possession and occupation of the same, therefore, this au-
gust Order, finds the honor of issue, that the Mowzah, in virtue of Farmans, which*



have to be obeyed, (and) in accordance with the usage, hitherto followed, should be allowed to remain in the possession and occupation of Girdhar, son of (whose father is) Vithalrai, the descendant (grandson) of the deceased and his other heirs, and they should not be troubled and molested with the demand of the various prohibited taxes. Written on the Twenty Seventh day of Rajab, A. H. 1068 (Tuesday, 20th April (O. S.) 30th April (N. S.) A. D. 1658 Samvat year 1714).

In the Risalah of Vazir Khan, a disciple worshipping his Teacher.⁴

Vazir Khan, servant of the Shah of Exalted Fortune.

Copy was made on the date, 29th of Rajab. 36.



XIV.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND HIGH GOD¹.

Circular seal of Shah Alam. A. H. 1164².

*Farman of Abul Muzaffar
Jalal-ud-din Mohammad
Shah Alam Badshah, Ghazi³.*

In these happy times the Exalted and August Farman found the honour of promulgation that Mouzah Rasalpur alias Gokul, in the (control or tract of) Paraganah Mahaban in the Sarkar of Islamabad in the Suba of (the Abode of Royalty, Khilafat) Akbarabad, has been given by way of Inam al Timga⁴ to Goswami Murlidhar^{4A}, knower of religious truths, and acquainted with true⁵ knowledge and his children, tax free, and a (Yaddasht) memorandum⁶ may be confirmed for it from the autumn of Yuskan Eel⁷ according to the contents⁸ (of Ta'liquah) that our renowned, happy and trusted Princes⁹, powerful ministers of finance¹⁰ high and and strength-possessing grandees¹¹, respected governors¹², happy (or having abundance) revenue officers¹³, officials of civil state-business¹⁴, those responsible for Imperial affairs¹⁵, Jagirdars and Karoris, present and future, endeavouring in securing (carrying out)

and continuing this Sacred and Exalted Order, till eternity and in perpetuity, should allow the abovementioned Mowzah to remain in his possession from generation to generation and progeny after progeny, eternally and for ever. They must consider them protected and defended from the blows of change and alteration, (consider them) exempted and absolved (from the payment of all civil levies and Imperial taxes), and they should not be molested and troubled on account of tribute or presents,¹⁶ land tax,¹⁷ imposts on manufactures, all capitation taxes,¹⁸ such as Kanlaghe,¹⁹ fees of the tax gatherer,²⁰ Daroga's fees,²¹ forced attendance²² at hunting, begar,²³ (forced labour), half of ten,²⁴ Mukaddami,²⁵ two percent²⁶ and Kanungoi²⁷; they must consider this a strict Order and a strong injunction and should not ask for a new deed every year, and they should not act in contravention of or deviate from the Royal commands, full of favour and exaltation. Acquired the embellishment of inditment on 15th day of Jamadi the Second, of this the tenth year of Our Accession, (A. H. 1182 Thursday 7th October (N. S.) 1768 A. D.) allied to eternity.

*Official seals and endorsements on the
back confirming the grant.*





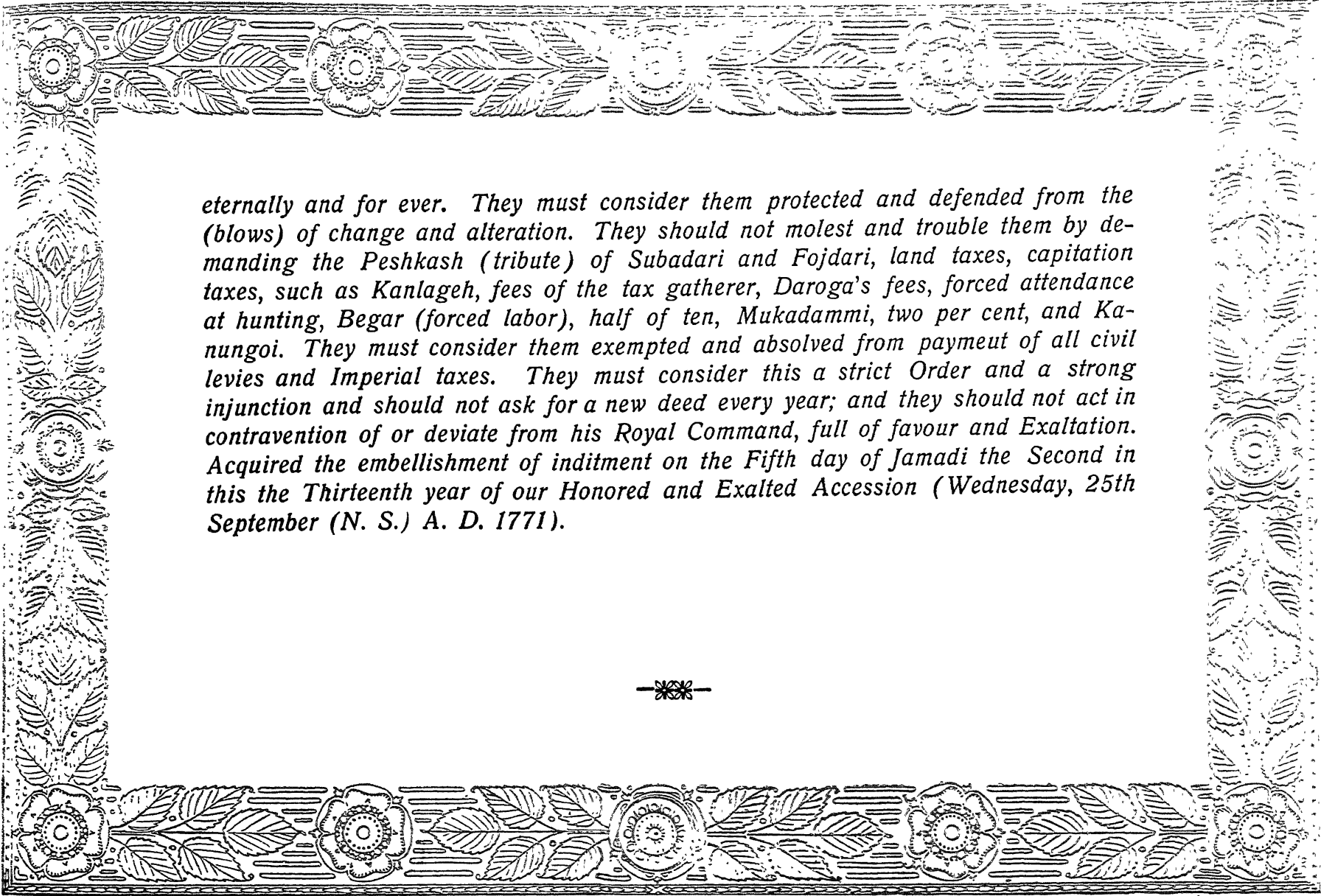
XV.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND THE HIGH GOD.


*Round Seal:*¹

*Square Seal:*²

At this time, allied to auspiciousness, the Exalted Farman, fit to be obeyed, has been issued (to the effect) that the village of Gopalpur alias Jatipur, connected with Gordhan, situated in the Paragnah of Sahar in the Sarkar (District) of Islamabad, in the Suba of the Capital of the Kingdom, Akbarabad, has been bestowed as an AlTimga and ma'afi (tax free) grant, on the knower of truths and (one) acquainted with true knowledge, Gosain Murlidhar, and his children. And a Yad-dasht may be confirmed for it from the autumn of Yuskan Eel, according to the contents (of the Ta'aliqua or endorsement on the grant). It is proper that our renowned, happy and trusted Princes, powerful ministers of finance, high and strength possessing grandees, respected Governors, happy (or having abundance) revenue officers, officers of civil state business, and responsible Imperial officers, Jagirdars and Karoris, present and future, endeavouring in securing (carrying out) and continuing this Sacred and Exalted Order should allow the above mentioned village to remain in their possession from generation to generation, progeny to progeny,



eternally and for ever. They must consider them protected and defended from the (blows) of change and alteration. They should not molest and trouble them by demanding the Peshkash (tribute) of Subadari and Fojdari, land taxes, capitation taxes, such as Kanlageh, fees of the tax gatherer, Daroga's fees, forced attendance at hunting, Begar (forced labor), half of ten, Mukadammi, two per cent, and Kanungoi. They must consider them exempted and absolved from payment of all civil levies and Imperial taxes. They must consider this a strict Order and a strong injunction and should not ask for a new deed every year; and they should not act in contravention of or deviate from his Royal Command, full of favour and Exaltation. Acquired the embellishment of inditment on the Fifth day of Jamadi the Second in this the Thirteenth year of our Honored and Exalted Accession (Wednesday, 25th September (N. S.) A. D. 1771).



XVI.

*Seal of Bakhshi ul Mulk Najaf Zulfikar ud Dowla,
Mirza Beg Khan Bahadur, Galeb, Slave of Badshah
Shah Alam, Ghazi.¹*

May the Chaudharies, Kanungos, Officials,² husbandmen and tenants and revenue officers of Kasba Gokul, Taluka^{2A} Mahaban, situated in the Suba of Akbarabad, the Abode of Royalty, know (that) the villages (Mowzahs) of Shri Gokul and Mubarakpur, and the lands etc., thereof have been conferred in the name of (on) Goswami Morlidhar, according to the contents or details³ in the abovenamed Kasba, from of old, and have remained always in the possession and custody of the above mentioned person. On account of that he has been exempted from payment of Government taxes and allowed to remain so. It is therefore incumbent (on you) that you should allow the above-written villages etc., to remain in the possession of the abovementioned person according to usage as his property and heritage, (with the right to receive) Chanda,^{3A} presents^{3B} and Ghat (transit dues) as has been settled, and in no way should he be molested or troubled, and having accomplished the duty of tax taking⁴ and Malguzari⁵ according to the Order and properly, they must pay him from season to season, year to year, the proper (amount of) revenue (Mal).

They must consider this a strict injunction and proper command, and act according to what is written. Written on the Fifteenth day of Shawwal in the Fifteenth year of His Majesty's Accession. (A. H. 1187: Thursday 30th December (N. S.) A. D. 1773).

This is correct.

Seals and endorsements on the back.



XVII.

SEAL OF LORD LAKE¹.

As the land of Vraj i. e., Mathura is a very sacred locality and a place of worship for Hindus, it is meet and proper that in this land, on the part of no one should injury or harm in any way befall cows; and Janabe Mustatabe Ma'ala Ilkab Samsam ud Dowlat Shuja' ul Mulk Khanwarane Khan [Titles of Lord Lake] General Gerard, Lord Lake, Fateh Jung, Commander-in-Chief, in whose nature compassion and benevolence have found an abode and in whom the Exalted Creator has reposed trust, makes this Order, that no one of the community of butchers or any one else, may he be a resident of Mathura or a soldier (one belonging to the army) or one who comes into and goes out of the above mentioned City and its environs, (i. e., places attached to Mathura) should slaughter a cow. For this reason it is proclaimed that no one should kill a cow in the abovementioned area. If any one disobeys this Order he would be punished according to law and no excuse on his part would be heard. Written on 3rd July (A. D.) 1805 corresponding to 5th of Second Rabi, A. H. 1220.





NOTES.

I.

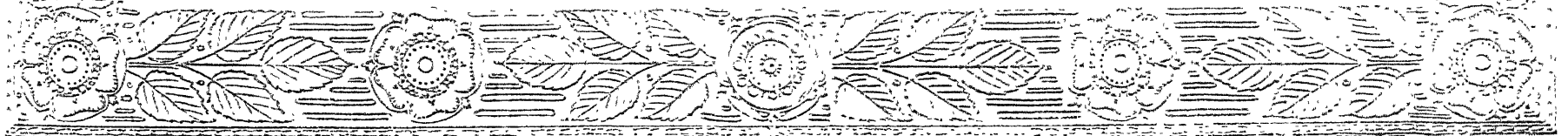
1. This seal at the top is like the Royal and Imperial signature made by His Majesty the King Emperor at the top of documents or warrants at present. It was engraved by Maulana Maquud of Herat. "The word *MUHUR*, a seal also means a stamp. We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." *Ain*, vol. I. p. 52. A round small seal like this was called *Uzuk*, a Chagtai word, and was used for *Farman-i-Sabtis* (*Ibid*).

2. Farmans are really Sanads or documents of royal grant. One class of such Sanads was called *Farman-i-Sabti*. Such Farmans were issued for three purposes, one of them being "a grant for beneficent purposes", as in the present case. There were several ways of sealing them. Some, as here, "were sealed merely with the imperial seal." *Ain*, vol. I. pp. 260-261.

Farmans are sometimes written in *Tugrā* character, but the first two lines are not made short (here they are: therefore it is not a Farman proper though described as such in the title); "such a Farman is called *Parwanchah*", *Ain*, vol. I. p. 263. *Tugrā* characters are a fine, ornamental hand in which are written Royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds (vide, *Steingass, Persian Dictionary*).

3. King Akbar was known by this title, Ghazi, a slayer of infidels. Mogul Emperors called themselves Ghazis.

4. Kasba, "a small town, particularly when inhabited by decent people or families of rank."



II.

1. He is Great and He is Independent: these are not the usual headings of a Farman. The heading generally is what follows: Allahu Akbar.

2. "Allahu Akbar" was the form of salutation, which, according to Badaoni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (*Salam*). The reply to this new *Salam* was Jall Jalalahu, i. e., "May his magnificence be glorified." (Ain, vol. I. p. 205). It was in A. H. 995 (A. D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in A. H. 983 (1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. The form was introduced not without objection as would be seen from the following extract from the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Badaoni.

"In these days (A. H. 983: A. D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words ALLAHU AKBAR to be cut on the Imperial Seal (as is the case here) and the dies of his coins. Most said, that people would like it very much, but Haji Ibrahim objected, and said that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning ("God is Great" or "Akbar is God") and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Quran, Lazikrullahi Akabaru ("to commemorate God is the greatest thing"), because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said.....that he never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." That Akbar wanted to found and did found a new religious system called the *Tawhid-e-Ilahi* (Divine Monotheism, Ain, vol. I. p. 201), with himself as its spiritual guide (Ain, vol. I. p. 162) is well known. These extracts are taken from Dr. J. J. Modi's paper on the Parsis at the Court of Akbar. Vol. XXI, p. 163 (1900-03), J. B. B. R. A. S., who has taken them from Ain, vol. I. pp. 166. The phrase Allahu Akbar was ordered to be used as the heading of all writings in the year 992 A. H. (Ain, vol. I. p. 203).

3. Khalsa is "land held immediately from Government." This is a later meaning. Khaliçah is called domain lands, at p. 270 of Ain, vol. I. Lands given for benevolent purposes, were hereditary, and differed from Jagir lands, which were conferred for a specified time, on Mansabdars, in lieu of salaries. Akbar considerably interfered with Sayurghal lands, resuming whatever lands he liked and increasing the domain lands to the ruin of many a Mahomedan family. (Ibid). On p. 268 the result of Akbar's personal inquiries into the department of "the lands given for benevolent purposes" is given. "He discovered that the former Çadrs had been guilty of bribery and dishonest practices..... The lands which were then held by Afghans (Mahomedans) and Chaudhris were taken away, (see also page 270), and became domain lands (Khalsah), whilst all others that held grants were referred to the Shaikh (appointed as special officer or Çadr), who inquired into and certified their grants."

Jagir, "Land given by Government as a reward for services or as a fee." "Jagir is a grant for services rendered at court." Dr. Modi's paper: The Parsis at the Court of Akbar p. 167. J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. XXI. Badaoni, cited at page 242 of vol. I. of Ain, thus describes them: "The whole country, with the exception of the Khaliçah lands (domains), was held by the Amirs as Jagir." Thus the privilege conferred on Vithalrai of allowing his cattle to graze both on Khalsa and Jagir lands was very valuable. It practically gave him a *carte blanche* to graze them wherever he liked.



III.

1. Note in the seal, her name only. The honorific word Begam is omitted out of humility.
2. Hamideh Banu Begam was the mother of Emperor Akbar, "Her title was Maryam Makani (i. e., one dwelling with or of the same rank as the Virgin Mary, -(see the Akbar Nameh translated by Beveridge, p. 33, note 1.) "who together with Asiah, the wife of Pharaoh, Khadijah (the name of) Mohammed's first wife, and Fatimah his daughter, are the four *perfect* women of the Islam." Ain, vol I. p. 48. In her husband Humayun's time she was once in imminent danger of being captured by his enemies at the fatal battle of Chausa, but was saved by the successful attempt made by several grandees, including Quch Beg, the father of Sher Afgan Khan (Ibid, p. 455). In the Akbar Nameh of Abulfazl about eighty two adjectival phrases like, cupola of chastity, screen of modesty, saint of seclusion, scion of austerity, &c., describing her chastity and high status as the Emperor's mother, are found (vide p. 15 of Akbar Nameh, Naval Kishore Press, and pp. 50-52 of Beveridge's translation.)

If such a lady issues orders like her Imperial son, there is nothing surprising in it. Unless the recipient of the grant had impressed her greatly, it is not possible to think that she would go out of her way to thus honour him.

Maryam was a favourite word to liken revered women to. Just as Akbar's mother was called Maryam Makani, his wife, sister of Raja Bhagwandas and mother of Jehangir, was called Maryam-uz-Zamani: The Mary of the Age. (Ain, vol. I. p. 619; Beveridge. p. 33 n. 1.)

3. The first two lines of all Farmans were shorter than the others, thus distinguishing them from another form of grants called Parwanchahs, wherein all lines were written of equal length. Hamideh Banu Begam's Farman, though called Aukm, an Order, partakes of the more important characteristic in as much as its first two lines are short.

4. Karori (Krori) was an officer in charge of the revenue of one Krori (10 millions) of *dams*. See Ain, vol. 1. p. 13. "Zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one kror of *dams*. Incorruptible Bitakchis (writers) were selected to assist them and intelligent treasurers were appointed one for each." The *dam* was a copper coin weighing 5 tanks, i. e., 1 tolah, 8 mashahs and 7 surkhs. It is the fourteenth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called paisa, and also Bahloli. Now it is known under this name (dam). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other the date". (Ibid, p. 31). Its (Karori's) later significance is of the office of a tax-gatherer, an inspector, an overseer. Blochman's translation of "Krori" is a "Collector", Ain, vol. I. p. 405.

5. Akbar had divided his Empire into divisions called Subahs. Each Subah was known from the name of the tract of the country or its capital city. There were 15 Subahs, after the conquest of Eerar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar. Subahs were subdivided into Sarkars. There were in all 105 Sarkars. Each Sarkar was divided into paraganas or Mahals. All the Sarkars were divided into 2,737 townships (Kasbas). Dr. Modi's paper on the Mogul Emperors at Kashmir p. 35. J. B. B. R. A. S. (1917). Wilson in his Glossary of Revenue Terms explains Sarkar to be "an extensive division of country under the Mohammedan Government, a sub-division of a Subah, containing many paraganahs, a district, a province." Ain, vol. II. p. 96 shows, Mahawan to be a mahal of the Sarkar of Agra. Thus: "The *Sarkar* of Agra, -the royal residence. 44 paraganahs,.....the suburban district of Agra. etc., 6 mahals: viz.,.....Mahawan."

It will be noticed that this is, more or less, a repetition or confirmation of the orders passed in the Farman given by the Emperor on the 3rd of Safar A. H. 989. The language is almost identical. Its effect is to enhance the esteem in which Vithalrai was held by members of the Royal family like the Queen Mother.



IIIA.

1. Khan Khanan was a title which Akbar had bestowed on Bairam Khan, his Guardian, to whom he was greatly attached. After his death (A. H. 968) he took charge of his son, Mirza Abdur Rahim, who was about four years old then. He bestowed on him the title of Mirza Khan; later he was made Mir 'Arz, and also appointed Guardian of Prince Salim. He was given the coveted title of Khan Khanan on his obtaining a victory over Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. He was generous and had a love of letters. He is called the Mecaenas of Akbar's reign. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 338).

He died in A. H. 1036. The words *Khan Sipahsalar ku* (where is the Khan Commander?) give the date of his death, calculated according to the *Abjad* system. His title as given in this Farman comprises part of these words.

2. It is well known that Akbar wanted to found a new religion called Divine Monotheism. His ambition was to become the spiritual Guide of his people. Although he met with great opposition from his Mahomedan subjects, he was able to get a large number of them, as well as of Hindus, to subscribe to the Faith, and although the name of Khan Khanan is not mentioned in the list of Members at p. 219 of Ain, Vol. I, he seems to have been one of such converts, as appears from the following extract from Badaoni given at p. 206. "On 10th day of Moharram, 996 [exactly a year before the date of this Farman], His Majesty had invited the Khan Khanan and Man Sing, (who had just been appointed Governor of Bihar, Hajipur, and Patna) and whilst, they were drinking His Majesty commenced to talk about the Divine Faith, in order to test Man Sing." Man Sing replied that he was a Hindu and His Majesty gave up the point. Khan Khanan calls himself a Murid, i. e., a disciple: that means a disciple of Akbar Shah, and he could not but be his disciple in the Divine Faith. At p. 388, Ain, Vol. I. it is said that he was a Shiah at heart, and a Sunni by profession.

3. The names of the other villages are given on the back of the Farman.

4. Even independently of the fact that Akbar was conferring a favor on the grantee of this Farman in respect of his own cows, the Emperor had a great regard for this animal. Beef was interdicted in his reign, and he had his own Gaokhanas or Cow Stables. He recognised the great veneration in which Cows were held in India, and he knew that "by means of this animal, tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life rendered possible and the table of the inhabitants filled with milk, butter-milk and butter." He had formed elaborate rules for the classification and food of both Cows and Oxen. Ain, Vol. I. pp. 148-149. "On the day of the *Diwali*-an old festival of this country, on which Hindus pray to the cow, as they look upon reverence shown to cows as worship-several cows are adorned and brought before His Majesty." Ain, Vol. I. p. 216..

5. I. e., The Temple of Gordhan Nath.

6. I had great difficulty in making out the Roz and the Mah. It was due to the suggestion of Mr. Khareght that I was able to decipher the words.

7. There are some Seals on the back which are not decipherable. The names of the villages, where pasturing of cattle was allowed are given on the back: as far as I can make them out they are Savi, Lahera, Lahar Bari, and Lahar. The Seals have not been photographed, as owing to age they would not come out well.

Besides the Seals, there is a short note, written across the top on the back, which means: By the permission of Mathuradas, (who is) like (a) brother, (and) a fellow servant.



IV.

* For these words at the top, see Note 2 of Farman No. 2. They appear at the top because of the Emperor's orders, that they were to be used in *all* writings, issued in A. H. 992 (A. D. 1584).

1. This larger round seal represents a comparatively earlier phase in the history of the seals of Emperor Akbar. The simple round seal, containing his own name only, we have seen already. Ain, Vol. I. p. 52, thus describes the phases: "In the beginning of the present reign, Maulana Maḡḡud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *Riq'a* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors upto Timurlang: and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the *nastā'liq* character, only with His Majesty's name..... Tamkin (another seal engraver) made a new seal of the second kind and afterwards Maulana 'Ali Ahmed of Delhi improved both. The round small seal..... is used for farman-i-sabti: and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but nowadays for both."

"The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughra lines on the top of the Farman." (Ibid, p. 264). "The mode of inditing or engrossing the Farmans was that at the top were written some words glorifying God, such as, that He is Omnipotent, or Great, or Independent etc. Then was put the Imperial seal. Then a horizontal line was drawn under the seal, and below it the description of the document, whether a farman or otherwise, then the name of the Emperor (granting the farman)."

2. "Given over tax free." Guzāshtan "to make a present on the renewal of a lease." (Steingass).

3. These are words of absolute grant, when the intention is that the land or village should be inherited by the heirs of the grantee.

4. *A'amāl*. Agents, Governors, nobles, tax gatherers. Blochmann translates 'Amil as a Collector of a Paraganah. Ain, Vol. I. p. 348.

5. *Mutasaddiyāne Mohammūt*: Mutasaddy, a clerk, a writer, an accountant, any inferior officer of Government. Mohammāt, important affairs; therefore, civil officers holding responsible posts. Blochmann translates the word as "revenue clerks," Ain, Vol. I. p. 346.

6. *Jagirdars*: "The higher Manṣabdars were mostly Governors of Cubahs. The Governors were at first called Sipahsālārs: toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hākims, and afterwards Ḥahibe Ḥubah or Ḥubahdars, and still later merely Ḥubah. The other Manṣabdars held Jagirs, which after the time of Akbar were frequently changed." Ain, Vol. I. p. 241.

7. *Takālīt*, Impositions, levies, taxes. At p. 453 of the July number (1926) of the J. R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland in his contribution on Sher Shahs' Revenue System, Mr. W. H. Moreland says this about *Takālīt*: "This word has a wide range of meaning, from "troubles" to "taxes", but in this context 'being exempted from all *takālīt*,' it probably means cesses or miscellaneous imposts." The passage containing this word is cited by him from Dorns' History of the Afghans: Part I, at p. 135.

8. *Māl wa Jihāt*. In Iran and Turan, they collect the land tax (Māl) from some; from others, the Jihāt, and from others again the Sair Jihāt,..... What is imposed on cultivated land by way of quit rent is termed Māl: Imports (? imposts) on manufacturers of respectable kinds are called Jihat and the remainder Sair Jihat." Ain, Vol. II. pp. 57-58. Māl, "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass).

9. *'Awarezāt*. Such as Peshkash, Jarimaneh etc.,

9A. Akbar had remitted many imposts as a thank offering to the Almighty. Among them was "a tax on each tree." Ain, Vol. II. p. 66.

10. *Parwanchah* is substantially identical with a Farman, so far as its contents are concerned. Its first two lines are not made short. "They were generally made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the Princes..... "(In such cases) the Treasurer does not annually demand a new sanad, but pays the allowances on the mere receipt, signed and sealed by the Ministers of the State." Ain, Vol. I. p. 263.

11. *Moowazzaf*: Daily task.

12. "The Divine Era or Tarikh-e-Ilāhi is Akbar's Solar Era, the commencement of which falls on the 19th of February 1556." Ain, Vol. I. p. 12, foot note. The 38th year would therefore be A. D. 1593-94. It is well known that Akbar had a leaning towards the Parsis, their religion and feasts (Ain, Vol. I. p. 276). Akbar adopted their Calendar. "In A. D. 1582 (A. H. 990), Akbar adopted (the) Calendar according to the manner of the Zoroastrians." Vol. XXI. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 75.

The first seal on the back is of Ishqui Mohammad Khan Bakhshi, who in all humility styles himself His (Majesty's) servant.

The second seal is of Mohammad Māsumkhan Parwanchi, who calls himself the servant of the Court.

The third is of Giasuddin, son of Abu' Ali Batūtāh Bakhshi, His (Majesty's) servant.

The fourth is of Mohammad Mukim, Bakhshi, servant of the Court.

The fifth is of Muzaffar Khan, the meanest (of servants). Written in the year (A. H.) 1021. (?1072),

On the left hand side is written, Copy received in the Exalted Record on the 23rd day of Khordad month Elāhi year 38. Ain, Vol. I. p. 260, refers to the method of keeping records or daftar of the Empire. It also says that in the case of Siyurghals, the Farmans after having been signed by the Mustaufi (auditor

of accounts) are entered in the Daftars of the Diwan-e-Sa'adat. They are then signed and sealed by the Qadr, and the Diwane Kul, Ain, Vol. I. p. 262.

The sixth is of Mohammad Munim Al Mulakkab ba KhānKhanan, Al 'Abd (slave) Al Mustakar ul Mulk ul Amān.

The Khan Khanan at this time was Mirza' Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan, who was given the coveted title of Khan Khanan for his victory over Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat. He was also made Wakil towards the end of the 34th year of Akbar's reign. Ain, Vol. I. p. 335.

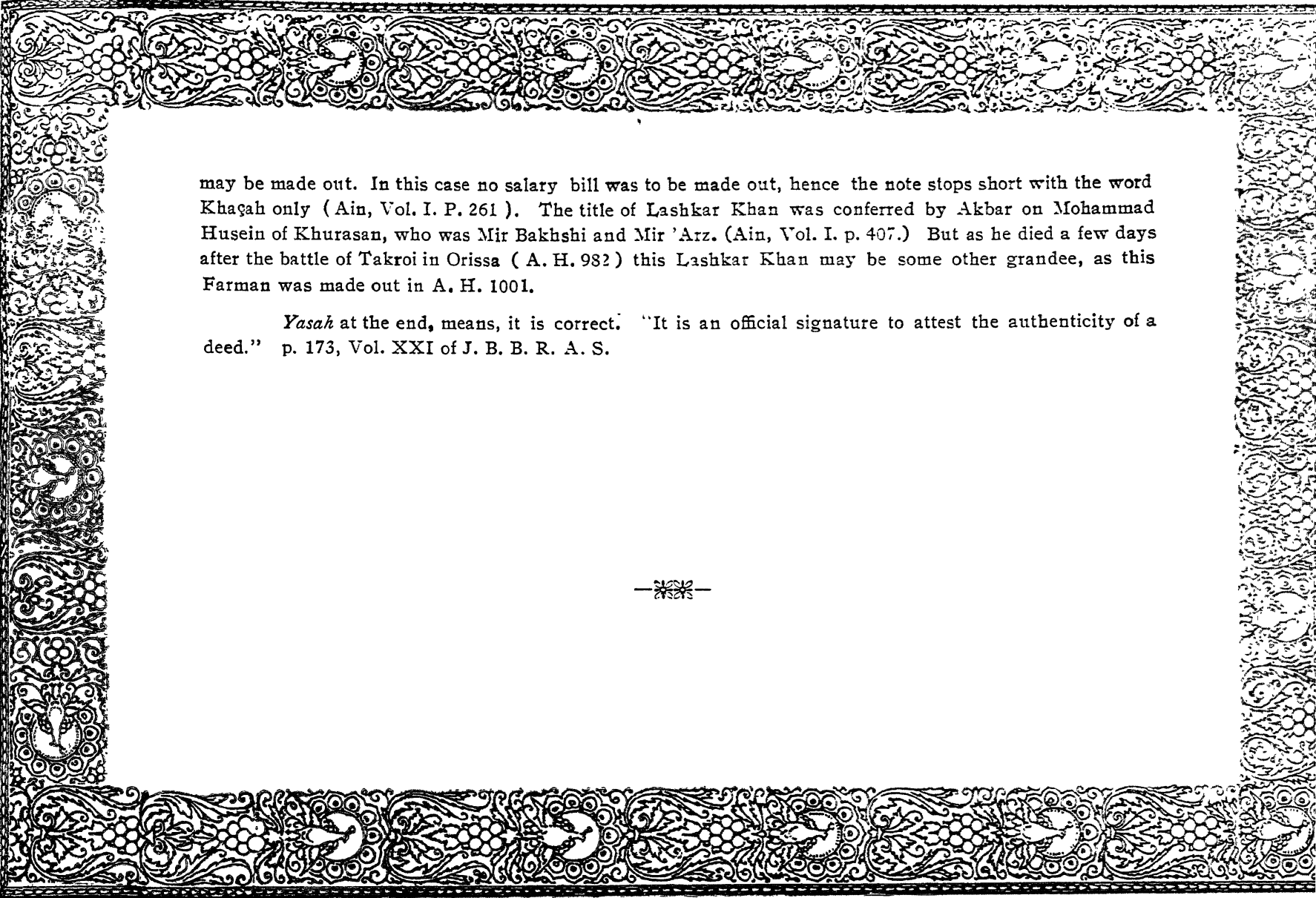
As a Wakil he had to put his seal "at a place towards the edge of the Farman, where the paper is cut off." Ibid, p. 263.

The seventh is of Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, son of Miran, a Bakhshi, His (Majesty's) servant.

The eighth is of Nek Mohammad, Tabib, the humblest (of servants).

The ninth is of slave Mohammad Amin Giyasuddin Mohammad Kalabi.

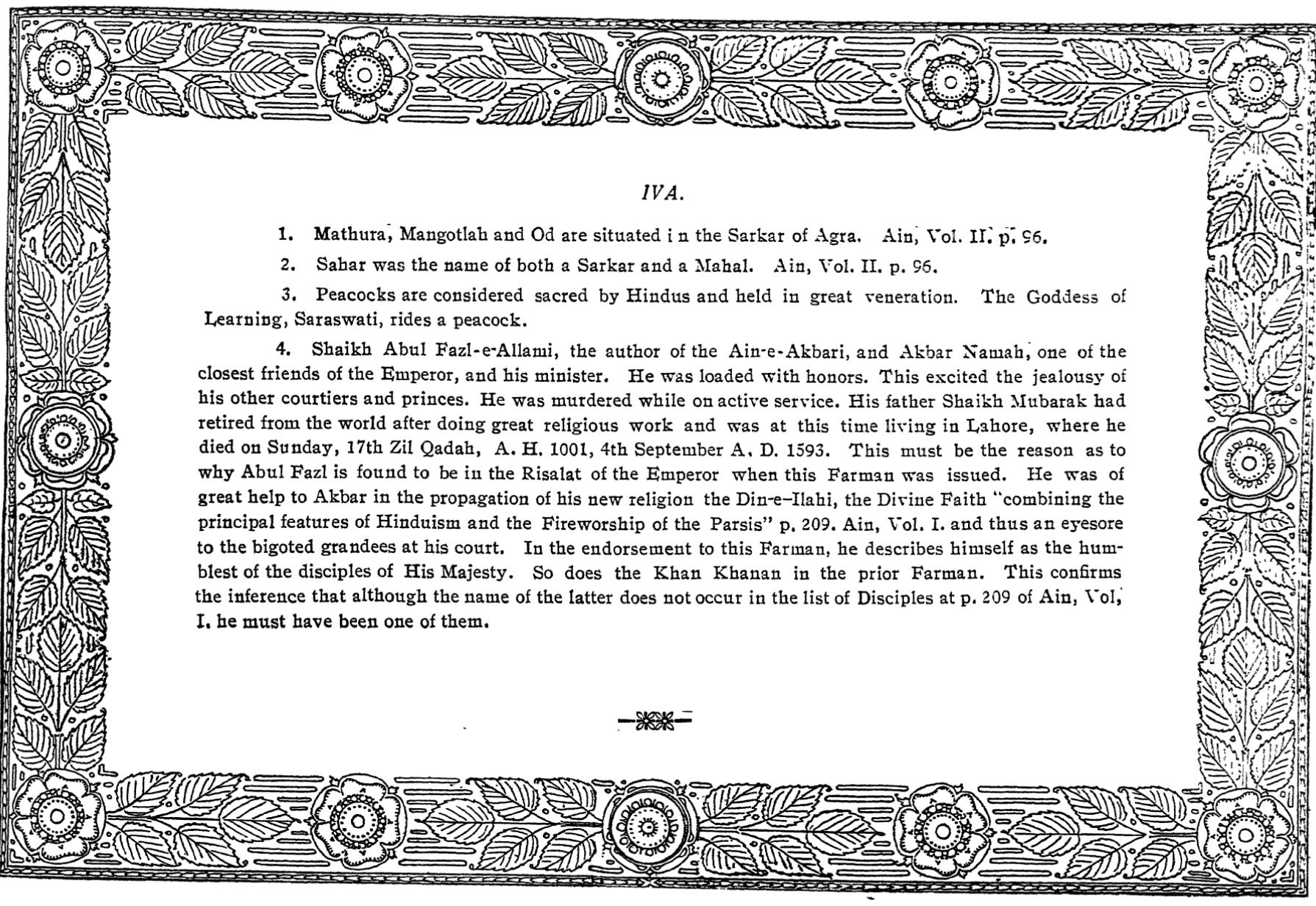
Parwanchah continuad (? noted) by 'Umdat ul Mulk (Prop of the State) Rukn us Sulatanat (Pillar of the Empire), fit for receiving favours and gratitude, suitable for (receiving) honors, Nizamuddin Lashkar Khan, Khasah (special) Mir Bakhshi (see p. 407, Ain, Vol. I). He was Mir Bakhshi and Mir 'Arz. A Bakhshi was the paymaster and adjutant general (Ain, Vol. I. p. 261.), and Mir-Bakhshi, paymaster of the Court (Ain, Vol. I. p. vi, Abul Fazl's Preface), the paymaster general. The word Khasah has a special signification here. "If the Jagir is given for military purposes with the order for bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the Bakhshis for inspection, when the following words are written on the back or corner of the paper. Khaṣah,.....this is special; the estimate for salary



may be made out. In this case no salary bill was to be made out, hence the note stops short with the word Khaṣāh only (Ain, Vol. I. P. 261). The title of Lashkar Khan was conferred by Akbar on Mohammad Husein of Khurasan, who was Mir Bakhshi and Mir 'Arz. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 407.) But as he died a few days after the battle of Takroi in Orissa (A. H. 982) this Lashkar Khan may be some other grandee, as this Farman was made out in A. H. 1001.

Yasah at the end, means, it is correct. "It is an official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed." p. 173, Vol. XXI of J. B. B. R. A. S.



A decorative border with a repeating floral and leaf motif surrounds the text. The border is composed of a central horizontal band with circular floral designs, flanked by vertical bands of leaves and smaller flowers.


IVA.

1. Mathura, Mangotlah and Od are situated in the Sarkar of Agra. Ain, Vol. II. p. 96.

2. Sahar was the name of both a Sarkar and a Mahal. Ain, Vol. II. p. 96.

3. Peacocks are considered sacred by Hindus and held in great veneration. The Goddess of Learning, Saraswati, rides a peacock.

4. Shaikh Abul Fazl-e-Allami, the author of the Ain-e-Akbari, and Akbar Namah, one of the closest friends of the Emperor, and his minister. He was loaded with honors. This excited the jealousy of his other courtiers and princes. He was murdered while on active service. His father Shaikh Mubarak had retired from the world after doing great religious work and was at this time living in Lahore, where he died on Sunday, 17th Zil Qadah, A. H. 1001, 4th September A. D. 1593. This must be the reason as to why Abul Fazl is found to be in the Risalat of the Emperor when this Farman was issued. He was of great help to Akbar in the propagation of his new religion the Din-e-Ilahi, the Divine Faith "combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Parsis" p. 209. Ain, Vol. I. and thus an eyesore to the bigoted grandees at his court. In the endorsement to this Farman, he describes himself as the humblest of the disciples of His Majesty. So does the Khan Khanan in the prior Farman. This confirms the inference that although the name of the latter does not occur in the list of Disciples at p. 209 of Ain, Vol. I. he must have been one of them.

A small decorative floral ornament consisting of a central flower flanked by two leaves, positioned below the main text block.

V.

1. This seal is substantially identical with that on the previous sanad or Farman. 999 would be the 36th year of Akbar's reign, while the Farman is dated the 38th. "People who were particular had new seals engraved annually, but the majority continued to employ the same old seal for many years." p. 171, footnote to Prof. Hodiwala's Studies in Parsi History. An instance in point is the seal put to the document, which Prof. Hodiwala discusses. It was written somewhere in 98-while the seal bears the date 976.

2. Guzar, a passage, a ferry, a ford. Ghat, a landing place, a ferry, a ford, a bathing place on a river side.

He who possessed the ferry charged the tolls. In the time of Akbar the State levied the following sums as river tolls. "For every boat, 1 Re. per kos at the rate of 1000 mans, provided the boat and men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is 1 Re. for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos. At ferry places an elephant has to pay 10 dams for crossing; a laden cart 4 dams, empty 2 d; a laden camel 1 d; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things $\frac{1}{2}$ d, empty $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Other beasts of burden pay $1\frac{1}{16}$ d. which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1 d. for crossing, but they are often taken gratis." "The rule is that one half or one third of the tolls thus collected go to the State, (the other half goes to the boatmen)". Ain, Vol. I. pp. 281-282.

Akbar had appointed experienced men to look after the river and ferry traffic. Each such officer had to settle every difficulty regarding fords, and see that they were not overcrowded, or too narrow or very uneven or full of mud. He regulated the number of passengers which a ferry may carry; he had to see that travellers were not delayed and that poor people were passed over *gratis*. He had also to see that people did not swim across, or deposited their wares any where else but at the fording place. He had also to prevent

people from crossing at night, unless in case of necessity (Ibid, p. 281). The gift of the ferry was thus a very valuable privilege conferred on Vithalrai.

3. Civil officers, See IV. 5.

4. See IV. 6.

5. See III. 4.

6. See IV 4. Amaelān and A'amāl mean the same thing.

7. Chaudhari, lit., a holder of four, perhaps shares or profits. The headman of a village (Wilson). Generally, a public officer in a village. In Bengal it is used as a title superior to Talukdars. It is at present used for the headman of a trade.

8. *Ikharājāt*, plural of *Ikhrāj* for *Kherāj*, tax, later, Capitation tax, Ain, Vol. II. p. 55. "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called Kheraj". Land, which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call Khiraji. Tribute paid by Khiraji lands is of two kinds. Mukāsmah (divided) and Wazifeh (settled). Ain, Vol II. p. 57.

In some Farman are found the words *Ikhrājāt wa-Syar-e-Jahāt*, and not only *Ikharājāt*: For instance, see the Farman opposite to page 186 of Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S. This tax was amongst one of those remitted by Akbar. Ain, Vol. II. p. 66.

9. All these are those referred to in the prior Farman.

10. *Marafu'ul Kalam*, Absolved, remitted.



SEALS.

The first seal is of Ishqui Mohammad Khan Bakhshi, the same as in IV

The second is of Mohammad M'asum Khan, Parwanchi.

The third is of the same officer as in IV.

The fourth is of the same officer as in IV.

The fifth is of same as in IV, but the year is 1072.

The sixth is ,, ,, ,,

The seventh ,, ,, ,,

The eighth ,, ,, ,,

The note about the Parwanchi is also the same, with an additional note. Copy of this was recorded in the Exalted Record on the 29th of Khordad month Elahi year 38.



VI.

The Seals are identical with those on the next Farman.

1. Sahar was the name of a Mahal and a Sirkar in the Suba of Agra: p. 96, Ain, Vol. II.

1A. *Tikāyat* or *Takāyat*; lit., rich, possessed of ready money. The correct word is *Tilakīyat*: one on whose forehead the *tilak* is put.

2. *Hukkām*, plural of *Hākīm*, a Governor. "The higher Manābdars were mostly Governors of Çubahs (Provinces). The Governors were at first called Sipahsalars, towards the end of Akbar's reign, we find them called Hākims, and afterwards Çahab-e-Çubah, or Çubahdars and still later merely Çubahs."

3. *A'amāl*, Agents, governors, nobles, tax gatherers.

4. *Peshkash*, Blochhman translates it as "tribute." Ain, Vol. I p. 258: Peshkash, tribute receipts. Peshkash or Royal fee was one of the imposts (*wajuhāt*), of the Mogul times. It is referred to as such in the Ain, Vol. II, p. 66. Akbar remitted it with several taxes. See Dr. Modi's paper on a Farman of Emperor Jehangir, p., 481 No. LXXIII J. B. B. R. A. S. Its general meaning is a present, such as is made to princes, great men or superiors (*Steingass*).

5. *Deh Ntmi*, lit., half of ten, i. e., five per cent. It was one of the imposts referred to in the Ain. Vol. II. p. 66. "His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the abovementioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufacture from ten to five per cent (*Deh Nimi*), and two per cent (*Sad Dui*) was divided between the Patwari and Kānungo. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the Kanungo (one per cent) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to rank. (*Ibid*, p. 67).

6. *Mukaddami*: Dr. Modi compares it to the ordinary word, *Mukādami* used in Gujarati, (p. 433, No. LXXIII J. B. B. R. A. S.) and says "This seems to be a new kind of impost." He quotes from Steingass. A Mukaddam is a superior officer of the revenue in a village; a title of respect among villagers. A leader, a chief, a commander. Jarrett calls a Mukaddam, the chief village revenue officer. Ain, Vol. II. p. 45. Trevaskis, in his book, called the Land of the Five Rivers, describes a Mukaddam, as the hereditary headman of a village, corresponding to a Patel.

7. *Sad Dui*: Two in the hundred, two per cent, vide Note 5. *supra*.

8. *Kānūngoi*: His fee was one per cent. See Note 5-*supra*. The duties of a Kānūngo are thus described by Jarrett, (Ain, Vol. II. p. 47 foot note 3) "An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives reports from Patwaris of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land, etc., which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *Tahsildar*." "He was a Registrar of land records. This officer was appointed directly by the Crown, one for each Paraganah. He was in charge of all land records of the Paraganah. He was to keep a record of all land assessments and the statements in his charge showed what was due from each landholder. All sales and transfers of property were also to be carefully verified by him." Cited at p. 433, No. LXXIII, J. B. B. R. A. S.

Wison thus describes a Kānūngo: "Lit., An expounder of the laws, but applied in Hindustan, especially to village and district revenue officers, who under the former Government recorded all circumstances within their sphere, which concerned landed property and the realisation of the revenue, keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfers of land, assisting in the measurement and survey of the land, reporting deaths, and successions of revenue payers and explaining when required local practices and public regulations. They were paid by rent free lands and various allowances and perquisites."

Some passages quoted by Dr. Modi at p. 430, No. LXXIII, J. B. B. R. A. S. from Gulshan Rai's Article in the Indian Review for September 1919 on Taxation and Financial Administration under the Mu-ghals are interesting.

The culturable land was divided into four classes and the share of the State in the produce of the crop varied according to the class. After alluding to Todar Mai's Decennial Settlement, he speaks of the other sources of public revenue, which "were known by the name of *Kar* in the Hindu period and *Jihat*, *Sair-e-Jihat* and *Abwabs* in the Mahomedan period. These imposts were either custom duties or transit duties on merchandise, or taxes on sales of houses, market places, persons, cattle, trees, professions, and manufactures, fees and royalties charged on marriages, discount on the exchange of coins, fees on fishery rights, and manufacture of salt, lime and spirituous liquor. In modern phraseology some of these imposts were Imperial taxes, some provincial rates and other local cesses."

SEALS ON THE BACK

The first seal is of Bhagwandas, slave of Shah Jahan.

The second is of Bandan (Vandan) Das, slave of Shah Jahan.

The third seal is of Musawi Khan Jahan, well wisher of His Majesty the King.

The fourth is of Afzal Khan Shukrallah Kasam, the servant, whose title by the favour of His Majesty the King is Khan Dowran Khan. Dowran was the title of Shah Beg Khan, a grandee of Akbar's on whom it was conferred by Jehangir. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 377). The words read *Jahān Dowrān*.



VII.

1. This seal takes the place of the round seal found in the prior Farmans, and is differently formed. The name Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Mohammad Saheb Kirān the Second, Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi, appears in the centre in the larger circle. And the smaller circles read, son of Jahangir Badshah, son of Akbar Badshah, son of Humayun Badshah, son of Babar Badshah, son of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzah, son of Sultan Abu Sa'eed, son of Sultan Mohammad Mirzah, son of Miran Shah, son of Amir Timur Saheb Kiran. At each corner is an invocation to God, O Powerful! O Protector! O Conquerer! O Victor! In the body near the letter *Sā* are the words "He is One."

2. The square seal takes the place of the horizontal line below which appeared the words, Farman of..... It reads, Farman of Abul Muzaffar Shahab-ud-din wad duniyā, Mohammad Saheb Kirān-e-Sāni, Shah Jahan Badshah-e-Ghazi. A square seal is mentioned as also being used in the times of Akbar. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 52.)

This is just the kind of seal to which Dr. Modi refers in his paper on 'A Farman of Emperor Jahangir' read on 22nd March 1920 and published at p. 440 of No. 53 in the J. B. B. R. A. S.

3. Wajuhāt, plural of Wajuh, taxes.

SEALS ON THE BACK

4. The first seal reads, Bhagwandas, servant of Emperor Shah Jahan, dated 29th of the month of Aban.

5. The second seal reads, Bandan (Vandan) Das, 26th of the month of Aban, slave of Shah Jahan, Badshah.

6. The third seal reads, Musavi Khan, the well wisher of Hazrat (His Majesty) Shah Jahan (d. 28th of the month of Aban).

7. The fourth seal reads, Afzal Khan Shukrullah Kasam, servant (with the) Khitab of Jahan Dowran, by the grace of His Majesty the Shah, d. 6th of Aban month, Sixth year.

Then there is the seal of Sayyid Tahawwur 'Ali.

There are two endorsements. One reads, On the 6th day of the month of Aban Elahi year 6. Copy (*Sabt Shud*) recorded in the Daftar. *Sabt Shud* was an official phrase of those times. (Vide Note 30. p. 168, Prof. Hodivala's Studies in Parsi History.) Each Department could make out by means of the phrases, through what other Department the paper had passed. I cannot decipher a part of this endorsement. *Yasak* at the end means, "it is correct." The other reads, Copy received in the Record or Daftar on the 28th of the month of Aban Elahi year 6.



VIII.

1. The circular seal is that of Prince Dara Shikoh, the son of Shah Jahan. "The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughra lines on the top of the Farman, where the Princes also put their seals in the Ta'liqaahs" (abridgments of yaddasht or memorandum of reports laid before the Emperor and approved by him). Ain, Vol, I. p. 284.

The number 17 in the body of the seal may refer to the year of the grant being the 17th of the year of the Emperor's accession, but I am not sure.

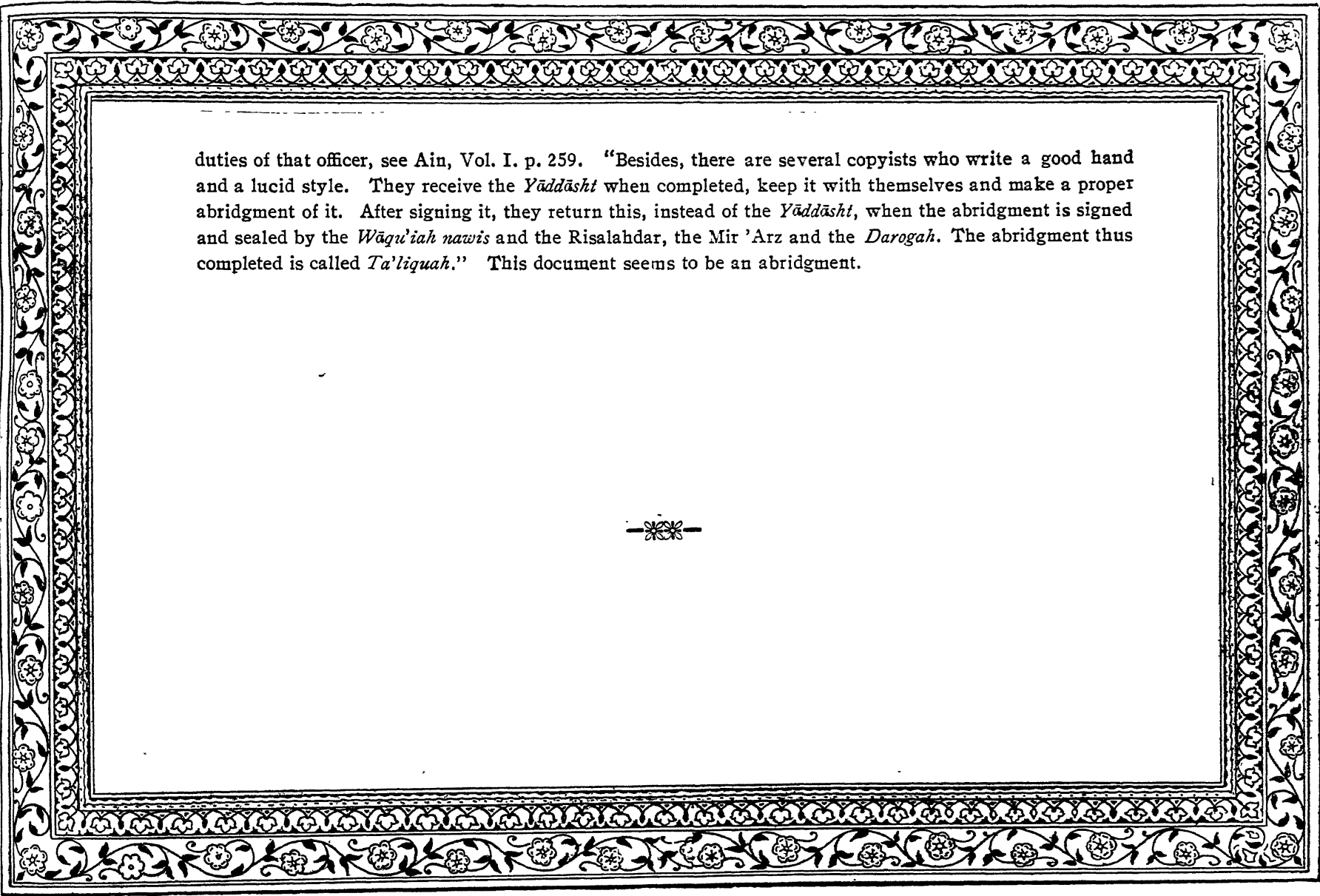
2. This square seal of the Farman of the Emperor Shah Jahan is the same as in VII.

3. This square seal is also of Dara Shikoh. It reads Nishān-Buland Ikbāl, 'Alī Shāh, Mohammad Dārā Shikoh.


Nishān, a mark, it would amount to a signature when the date is put down by the marksman with his own hand.

4. There is one Damodar Bhat mentioned by Blochmann, Ain, Vol. I. p. 538, as a learned man of Akbar's time, belonging to the first class, who "perceived the mysteries of the external and internal (worlds)" etc. "Shree Vitthaleshwara Dikshit was the second son of Vallabhacharya. He assumed the surname of Goswami in 1634, after he was granted permission by Emperor Akbar to graze his cattle on all lands including the Royal ones," p. 3. of Teliwala's Introduction to Shri Vitthaleshwar and his Vidvanmandana.

5. This solitary seal reads, In the Risālah of, the humblest of slaves, Abdul Karim. This Farman therefore must have been granted when it was the time of this grandee to act as the Risalahdar. As to the



duties of that officer, see Ain, Vol. I. p. 259. "Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *Yāddāsh*t when completed, keep it with themselves and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this, instead of the *Yāddāsh*t, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wāqu'iah nawis* and the Risalahdar, the Mir 'Arz and the *Darogah*. The abridgment thus completed is called *Ta'liquah*." This document seems to be an abridgment.



IX.

1. This sanad is granted not by the Emperor but by a grandee and it was permissible. "Many sanads are however only signed and sealed by the grandees of the Court." Ain, Vol. I. p. 260. Instances of several sanads issued by grandees, i. e., Diwans, Vakils and other high officers, would be found in Prof. Hodivala's Article on Mahrvaïd (pp. 149-188) in his Studies in Parsi History.

Khān-e-Khan or Khan Khanan, the Indian form of the Persian words Khān-e-Khānān ["In such titles the Persian *Izāfat* is left out." Ain, Vol. I. p. 240], the Khan of Khans, was a title bestowed by Akbar at the time of his accession (Second of Rabi the Second A. H. 963) on Bairam Khan, to whom he owed much.

1A. The word in the original is *Biyāee*. It ordinarily means, in northern India, the handful of grain given by the purchaser (of grain) to the weighman (*Biyā*, called *Tolat* in Gujarat), who weighs it out to him. It is the custom in markets where grain is sold for the owner of the grain not to weigh it out to the purchaser. That is done by those men who are appointed for that purpose. This saves to the owner, the trouble of weighing it out and at the same time ensures correct weight to the purchaser, as the weigher would be an independent, third party. It was this privilege of receiving the perquisites (handfuls of grain) of a weighman which Natha wanted to have assigned to him.

2. *Mandvi*, according to Wilson, is a building into which goods are received from ships in sea ports, a store, a warehouse, etc., a custom house. It also means market tolls or market dues. The word assumes various forms in the vernaculars. In Gujarati, *Māndavi*, *Mandī*, *Mandai* mean the same thing.

3. "Rs. 100 were then equivalent to at least 400 Rupees of our own day," p. 167, Prof. Hodivala's

Studies in Parsi History; while Blochman says that the Akbarshahi rupee (40 dams) differed very little from our Rupee. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 349, footnote).

4. *Zabt*, according to Jarrett the word loosely means the "revenue collection or assessment of a village". (Ain, Vol. II. p. 153). It is also translated as " revenue in cash for crops charged at special rates." It ordinarily means, control, possession.



X.

1. It is this grain market, which Natha had in view (No. IX) when he offered Rs. 175 for the privilege of receiving the perquisites of a weighman.
2. Girdharlal was the eldest son of Vithalrai. See reference to it in No. XIII.



XI.

1. The same seal as in VIII but without the year, with the words, Al Kādar, The Powerful, at the top of the circle.

2. 3. Same seals as in VIII.

4. Mukramat Khan. He is referred to at p. 333, Ain, Vol. I. in connection with the repair of a canal. "Shihab repaired the canal which Firuzshah had cut from the Paraganah of Khizrabad to Safidun and called it Nahr-i-Shihāb. This canal was again repaired at the order of Shah Jahan by the renowned Mukramat Khan and called Faiz Nahr" (Twentieth year of Shah Jahan's reign). He is the same grandee as is referred to in No X.

5. Umdat ul Mulk, a title.

6. Dar Umur-e-Hisabi: Husab ul amr = Husab ul Hukm, according to orders. It may mean, matter of accounts or finance.

* In matters of account or finance (*Hisābi*).

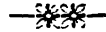
† Or against the accounts (*Hisāb*).



XII.

The Seals resemble those in Nos. VIII and XI.

The Paraganah referred to is that of Od.



XIII.

1. This circular seal is more expanded than those in VIII and XI. It reads Shah-e-Buland Ikbāl Mohammad Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan Badshah, Ghazi. The words in the top corner are Allāhu.

2. 3. Same as in VIII & XI.

4. *Risalah* is short for Risalahdar. It is a military term as it denotes a commander of troops. The *Yaddasht* or memorandum signed by the Parwanchi, the Mir 'Arz, and by the person who laid it before His Majesty, was received by copyists, when completed, who kept it with themselves and made a proper abridgment of it. After signing they returned it instead of the *Yaddasht*, and it was signed and sealed by the Wa'quiah navis (Recorder) and the Risalahdar, the Mir 'Arz and the Darogah. The abridgment thus completed was called Ta'liquah, and the writer is called Ta'liquahnavis; Ain, Vol. I. p. 259. The Risalah and the copyist both have endorsed this Farman. The Risalah calls himself the disciple worshipping the preceptor (i. e., the King or Emperor). This is not a singular way of denoting one's humility. Khan Mirza 'Abdur Rahim, a great favourite of Akbar, called himself Murid-e-Akbar Shah. (Vide pp. 162 and 179, Vol. XXI, J. B. B. R. A. S.).

The Emperor had appointed fourteen clerks, whose duty was to write down the orders and doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the department reported; two of them had to do daily duty in rotation. They were called Wakahnavis. Besides this, there were officers mounting guard (chauki). There were three kinds of guards. "The four divisions of the army had been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mansabdar. Another fully acquainted with all ceremonies of Court, was appointed as Mir 'Arz. All orders of His Majesty were made known through these two officers, (the Mir 'Arz and the Commander of Palace.) They are day and night

in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." Ain, Vol. I. p. 257. Thus the orders issued by His Majesty would be noted in the records of the Wa'quiah navis. whose turn (Naubat) it may be to be in attendance, and in the records (Risālah) of the Commander whose turn it may be to be in attendance for mounting guard (chauki). The procedure for preparing Farmans appears to be that a Yaddasht or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the King. A Ta'aliquah or abridgment was then prepared from the Yaddasht; from this Ta'liquah the Farman was prepared. Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S. p. 196.

Akbar had, it appears, asked those officers who were entitled to put seals to Government documents to insert the word "Murid" (Disciple, i. e., his disciple, he being the Spiritual Guide of the Tavhid-i-Ilahi) on their signet. (See Ain, Vol. I. p. 401, where the incident of Shahbaz Khan refusing to put it on his signet is referred to. The custom seems to have continued thereafter.)

* The words 'Arsh Astāni are a variant of 'Arsh Āshyāni, one whose nest is Heaven. Each Mogul Emperor had a special title. Babar was called *Geti Sītāni* (Conqueror of the World) *Firdaus Makāni* (one whose home is Paradise); Humayun, *Jannat Āshyāni* (Heaven is whose nest); Akbar, 'Arsh Āshyāni (one whose nest is the ninth Heaven); Jahangir, *Jannat Makāni* (one whose home is Heaven); Shah Jahan, *Firdaus Āshyāni* (one whose nest is Paradise) *Saheb Kirān-e-Sāni* 'Ala Hazrat. (Vide Geneological Table of the House of Timur at the end of Ain, Vol. I. and also, Ibid. p. 213.)



XIV.

1. This is a novel fashion of writing the usual invocation.
2. This circular seal which bears at the top the words "He is High," "Hav ul Ta'ālā," contains the names of all the ancestors of the Emperor, thus:

son of Farrukh Siyar Badshah,
son of Jahāndar Shah Badshah,
son of 'Alamgir,
son of Shah Jahan Badshah,
son of Jahangir Badshah,
son of Akbar Shah,
son of Humayun Badshah,
son of Babar Badshah,
son of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza Shah,
son of Sultan Abu Sae'ed Shah,
son of Sultan Mohammad Mirza,
son of Miran Shah,
son of Amir Timur, Saheb Kiran,

Names of those five Emperors between Farrukh Siyar and Shah 'Alam who were on the throne only for a short time have been omitted.

The year is 1164 A. H.

3. The square seal contains the words'' the Farman of Abul Muzaffar Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar Shah 'Alam Badshah, Ghazi."

4. *Inam Al Timga*. This grant conveys title to rent free lands in perpetuity, which was hereditary and transferable (*Ain*, Vol. II. p. 58).

4 A. Murlidhar or Morlidhar, the eldest son of Girdharji was born at Bandhe Gadh.

5. Even Shah 'Alam respected the family for its piety and religious knowledge. *Hakāyak*, pl. of *Hakikat* and *Mā'arfat*, in the terminology of Sufi philosophers, express certain advanced stages on the "way" to Union with God (Wasl). This is a high compliment.

6. *Yaddasht*: *Ain*, Vol. I. pp. 258,259 describe the methods of preparing the Yaddasht or memorandum. A Waqui'ahnavis (Recorder) who was in attendance daily on His Majesty had to write down the orders, issued by him, and his doings. This included granting Jagirs. Sayurghals (Al Timgā grants) i. e., rent free lands &c. After the diary was corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it was laid before the Emperor and approved by him. The clerk then made a copy of each report, signed it and handed it over to those who registered it as a voucher, when it was also signed by the Parwanchi, by the Mir 'Arz and by the person, who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state was called Yaddāsht.

7. *Kharif* and *Rabi* (Autumn and Spring); are still in use as revenue terms.

Yuskan Eel or Il: These are Turkish words. Il means a year. In the Turkish era, they counted years by cycles, each cycle having twelve years.

8. *Zimn*, contents; it is a technical word used in connection with Farmans. The Çahib-e-Tavjîh keeps the former Ta'aliquah with himself and writes its details on the Farman. (Wa Sharh-e-ânra dar zimn-e-farmân navisad). Ain, Vol. I. p. 261.

9. *Farzandân*, Princes. It is well known that Princes took part in the administration of the State even during their father's life time. e. g., Shah Zadah Sultan Salim, eldest son of Akbar was a Mançabdar or Dah Hazari, Sultan Murad, the second son, a Commander of eight thousand, and Sultan Dānyal of seven thousand. Ain, Vol. I. p. 308.

10. *Vazirs*: The Vizarat, was one of the four ranks of officers "from which royalty received its final tint." The first rank or division was of the nobles of the state. The second, the assistants of victory, i. e., the Collectors and those entrusted with income and expenditure. The head of this division was "Vizier," also called Diwan. "He is the lieutenant of the Emperor in financial matters, superintends the Imperial treasuries and checks all accounts. He is the banker of the cash of the revenue. He must be a member of the Divine faith, a skilful arithmetician, free from avarice, active in businesstruthfulzealous in his work. He is in reality a book keeper. He explains all matters which appear too intricate for the *Mustavfi* (Deputy Diwan) and whatever is beyond his own ability he refers to the *Vakil* (Prime Minister). The *Mustavfi*.....the *Waqui'ah Nawis* (Recorder) the 'Amil (Collector) of the domains are under his orders and act by the force of his wisdom." Ain, Vol. I. p. vi (Abul Fazl's Preface).

11. *Umrā* (Plural of Amir), The nobles of the State. At the head of this class is the *Vakil*..... who is the Emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household. The *Mir Māl*, the Keeper of the Seal, the *Mir Bakhshi* (Paymaster of the Court), the *Bar Begi* (The *Mir 'Arz*), the *Qur Begi*.....the *Munshi* (Private Secretary) belong to this class (Ain, Vol. I. pp. v and vi, of Abul Fazl's Preface).

Blochmann concludes that Maṇḡabs under 200 in Akbar's time and under 500 in Shah Jahan's time did not entitle the holder to the title of Amir. Maṇḡabdars from the Hazari (Commander of 1000) were in Akbar's time, styled Umrā-i-Kibar or Umrā-i-'izām, great Amirs (Ain, Vol. I. p. 240).

12. Hukkām, See note 2, VI.

13. 'Ummāl, See note 4, IV.

The adjectives used for these two officers, *Kirām* (noble and respected) and *Kifāyat Farjam*, (whose end is abundance or happiness), are identical with those found in Jahangir's Farman printed at page 423 of No. LXXIII of the J. B. B. R. A. S.

'Ummāl is the plural of 'Amil, whom Wilson calls "an officer of government in the financial department, especially a collector of revenue, on the part of governors or of the farmer of the revenue, also himself a farmer of, or collector for the revenue under the native system, and invested with supreme authority, both civil and military, in the district which he farmed."

Steingass calls him an intendant of finance, a revenue collector.

14. *Mutasaddi*. See note 5, IV.

15. *Mutakafflān*. Those who gather the Takālif-e-Sultani or Imperial taxes. See note 7, IV.

16. *Peshakash*, one of the imposts (Wajuhāt) of King Akbar's time, though remitted by him (Ain, Vol. II. p. 66). It is "a magnificent present such as is only presented to princes, greatmen, superiors and some times to equals.

17. *Māl wa Jihāt*: "In every kingdom Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue, and this they call *Tamga*. In Iran and Turan they collect the land tax (Māl) from

some, from others the Jihat, and from others again the *Sair Jihat*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajuhāt* and *Farua'āt* are extracted. Imposts on manufacture of respectable kinds are called *Jihāt*, and the remainder *Sāir Jihāt*. Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are called *Wajuhāt*, otherwise they are called *Farua'āt* (Ain, Vol. II. pp. 57-58).

Abwab-ul-māl, are entries in the Daftar referring to the revenue of the country (Ain, Vol. I. p. 260).

18. *Ikharājāt*: In ancient times, a capitation tax (a tax per head) was imposed called Kheraj. (Ain, Vol. II. p. 55). In India, in Mogul times, Kheraj was the impost paid by Khiraji lands, i. e., lands which those outside the Mahomedan faith retained on convention (Ibid, p. 57). It is the same as *Jaziyeh*.

19. *Kanlaghe*: an impost. As to what the word is Blochmann is doubtful and Jarrett cannot trace it. (Ain, Vol. II. p. 67). It is not found in Persian Dictionaries. Dr. Modi's note at p. 431 of No. LXXIII of the J. B.B.R. A. S. does not carry conviction. It seems to be a Turkish word.

20 *Mohassalāneh*: "Fees of the bailiff or tax gatherer." Dr. Modi thinks it is the same impost as that spoken of as Tahsildari (Tahsildar's fees). (Ain, Vol. II. p. 66). See, p. 168, Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S.

21. *Dāroghāne*, was one of the imposts (*Wajuhāt*) of King Akbar's time (Ain, Vol. II. p. 66). A Darogha is the "headman of an office, overseer or superintendent of any department." "The inspection of village records and the preparation of circle accounts was the work of a Darogha or Inspector." Gulshan Rai cited by Dr. Modi at p. 432, No. LXXIII J. B. B. R. A. S.

22. 23. *Shikār & Begār*: These two imposts figure in Jahangir's Farman, vide p. 432, No. LXXIII J.B.B.R.A.S. where Dr. Modi says "that neither the Ain-e-Akbari nor the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri throw any

light on the word Shikar, as to what the impost was, perhaps, he thinks, it was incumbent on holders of land to supply a certain number of men as Begaris and Shikaris to serve as labourers and beaters(?) to high Government officials. Begar, is employing any one without remuneration. Shah Jahan is said to have abolished forced labour in the matter of the collection of Saffron from Government fields in Kashmir in A. D. 1650-51.

- 24. Deh Nimi: See note 5, VI.
- 25. Mukaddami: See note 6, VI.
- 26. Sad Dui: See note 7, VI.
- 27. Kanungoi: See note 8, VI.

TRANSLATION OF ENDORSEMENTS ON THE BACK.

Ordered to be entered: Sabt Numāyand. See Ain, Vol. I. p. 261.

“This paper (a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary duly signed and sealed) which the Bakhshi grants instead of the Ta'aliquah is called Sarkhat. The Sarkhats are entered in the Daftars of all the Sub Bakhshis and are distinguished by particular marks. The Diwan then keeps the Sarkhat with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it and reports the matter to His Majesty. If His Majesty gives the order to confer a Jagir on the person specified in the Sarkhat the following words are entered on the top of the report. They are to write out a *Ta'aliquah-i-tan*, a certificate of salary, (*Ta'aliquah-i-tan qalami numayand*). This order suffices for the clerks. They keep the order and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwan, who verifies it by writing on it, the words *Sabt numāyand*, (ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwan,

the Bakhshi, the accountant of the Diwan (Musharraḥ-e-Diwan)* are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the Diwan."

SEALS.

1. The large circular seal, reads Vazir ul Mamalek (the vazir of the kingdom), Jumlat-ul-mulk (the aggregate of the country), Madār ul Mahām (the support of State affairs), Aitmad ud Dowlat (the confidant of fortune), Āsaf Jāh, with the dignity of Āsaf, the Minister of Solomon (Āsaf was known for his wisdom. In Akbar's time the title was Āsaf Khan. In Shah Jahan's time it was changed to Asaf-ud-Dowlāh, and later Āsaf Jāh, which is still retained as one of the titles of H. E. H. the Nizam. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 369.), Burhān ul Mulk, (the light of the Kingdom), Shujā ud-Dowlāh (the courageous man of fortune), Abul Mansur Khan Bahadur Safdar Jang Yār-e-Wafādār Sipah Salar Fidwi ye (a sacrifice or slave of) Shah 'Alam, the Emperor of the World.

"The farmans after having been signed by the Mustavfī are entered in the Daftars of the Diwan-e-Sa'adat: they are then signed and sealed by the Çadr and the Diwan-e-Kul (Vazir)." Ain, Vol. I. p. 262.

The endorsement (which means, Noted in the Risalah of the Vazir) by the side of this seal, practically is a long list of the titles of Safdar Jang Bahadur.

They are:—

1. *Ba Rasalaye-Sharāfat wa Nijābat*, During the gentle and noble Risalah of,
2. *Muntakhab-e-amārat wa ayālat* (the select of the Controllers and Governors),

* *Musharraḥ*, an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings. Diwan is the officer who keeps the Jagir accounts. Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S. p. 177.

3. *Manzala farāzi lawāye Showkat wa Hashmat, Ubahat wa 'Uzmat*, (the exalted seat of the standard of pomp and dignity, fear-inspiration and greatness),
4. *A'itkād-e-Khilāfat* (the support of the Kingdom),
5. *Farmān Rawāye 'aetemāde-sultanat* (the orderer of the strength of the Empire),
6. *Kishwar Kushāye Zafar yābi* (the victorious Conqueror of the world),
7. *Sirāje-Bakā ye Kuchaye Jahanbari* (the sun of eternity of the street of sovereignty),
8. *'Aysh ārāye Mahāfil-e-Kāmrani* (the adorning of the pleasures of the assembly of the fulfilment of desires),
9. *Juyāy-e-Hakikat wa Wafā* (seeker after truth and faith),
10. *Faruge Shama'e Yaksui wa Safa*, (the light of the candle of one-ness and purity),
11. *Hamdam-e-dilkushā-e-Majlas-e-Khās* (pleasant companion of the special assemblage),
12. *Moharamme-Khilwat Sarāye Sidq wa Ekhlās* (confidential friend of the private abode of Truth and Sincerity),
13. *Kārfarmāye Sayf wa al Kalam* (wielder of the sword and the pen). (Jahangir conferred the title of *Sahab us Saif wal Qulam*, Lord of the Sword and the Pen, on Shaikh Faride Bukhari. It is an old title. *Ain*, Vol. I. p. 414.)
14. *Tadbir āmus-e-umūr-e-'āliyaye fidviyān wa Khawānin-e-buland makan* (teacher of the performance of exalted affairs of the slaves as well as highly placed servants),
15. *Umdate umrāye 'azim ush shān* (a pillar of the powerful nobles),

16. *Vazir-e-Sāyab Tadbir-e-Mamālek Madār* (A vazir who can give sound counsel and is the foundation of the Kingdom),

17. *Amir-e-Rowshan Zamir-e-'Āli Mikdār* (a nobleman with an enlightened mind and great power),

18. *Lāzame Khās wa-Al 'Aezāz*, (fit for special endearment),

19. *Wājebul ehterām wa ul 'aitabār* (proper person to be honoured and trusted),

20. *Rukn us Sultanat* (pillar of the Kingdom),

21. *Suleman Iktedar* (powerful as Solomon, known for his power and wisdom),

22. *Vazir ul Mamālek* (the minister of the state),

23. *Jumalt ul Mulk* (the aggregate of the country),

24. *Madār ul Maham* (the pillar of state affairs),

25. *Yāre Vafādār* (faithful friend),

26. *Shuja ud Daulat* (intrepid warrior of the Kingdom),

27. *Burhān ul Mulk wa ul Awakār* (light of Kingdom and digni'ty),

28. *A'itmad ud Dowlah* (pillar of the Empire),

29. *Asaf Jah* (with the dignity of Asaf),

30. *Abul Mansur Khan Bahadur, Safdar Jang* (cleaver of rows of troops).

3. This is the seal of Rai Kunvar Sen, the child of the slave (Khāneh Zād) of Bādshah-e-Ghazi

Shah 'Alam. Below it are the words *Mutall'a Shud*: written, (became) informed, with the date, 2nd of the month of Rajab, 13th year of the Enthronement of the Most High.

Mutall'a Shud, seem to be words officially used by the Mustavfi, the Deputy Diwan or Auditor or Controller of Accounts (p. 184, Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S.). Kunwar Sen must therefore be the Mustavfi.

4. This seal reads Sayyad Hedāyat 'Ali Khan, servant of Badshah-e-Ghazi Shah 'Alam, 1186. Below it are words: *Sabt Shud* (entered; noted) on the 19th of Second Jamadi, 13th year of the enthronement. Below both these seals is the letter "Mim," which is the initial letter of the words *Mutall'a shud*.

Mutall'a shud, *Sabt Shud*, "appear to have been parts of the official terminology of the day. Each of them was peculiar to some departmental head and was used by him only when recording documents, and was a sort of password which was perfectly understood by his colleagues, who were able at once to tell through what hands or offices the paper had passed." P. 168. Prof. Hodivala's *Studies in Parsi History*.

Sabt Shud shows that the order *Sabt Numayand* (May be entered or noted) made by the Diwan has been obeyed. "The mark (*nishān*) of the Daftar and the seal of the Diwan, the Bakhshl and the Accountant of the Diwan, are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside." *Ain*, Vol. I. p. 261. This seal is therefore that of the Diwan.

5. Copy received in the Daftar (Record: it also means Office) of the *Sahab-e-Tavjih* (Accountant of the Army, p. vi. Vol. I. *Ain*, Abul Fazl's Preface), on the 17th of the Second Jamadi, 13th year of the enthronement, corresponding to the 5th of the month of Mehr. 1185 A. H. Sitaram. "Tavjih, was the third of the three parts into which the Daftar of the Empire was divided. It contained all entries referring to the pay of the army, and showed the manner in which it was given out." *Ain*, Vol. I. p. 260. *Sahab-e-Tavjih* is the adjuster of accounts, p. 185 Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S.

6. Copy was received on the 2nd of Rajab, 13th year of the enthronement of the Most High in the Sherishtah (Sheristahdar, Head Clerk) of the Mustavfi of the Abwab-ul-Mal. (This part of the Daftar contained entries referring to the revenue of the country. Ain, Vol. I. p. 260).

7. In the centre of the back are the words.

Mowzae Darbast: The whole of the village.

8. Copy received in the Daftar of the 'Ark, citadel, on the 9th of Sh'aban. 13th auspicious year.

9. According to the exalted Farman, entered in the Daftar-e-Tan. The words *Kalami Shud* (written or) entered, seem to show that this was done in the office of the Sāhab-e-Tavjih (Vol. XXIJ. B. B. R. A. S. p. 185). Shaikh Faride Bukhari was appointed a Mir Bakhshi by Akbar and had also for some time the Daftar i Tan in his charge, i. e., he had to settle all matters relating to the grants of Jagir holders. (Ain, Vol. I. p. 413.) This shows what the Daftar was meant for. Daftar-i-tan is called the Department of Tankhwah (Salary) by the Translators of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Supplement, p. 215. It was the duty of this Department to pay cash Salaries.

10. Entered in the diary of the Waqui'ah (Daily report writer) on the 15th of the 2nd Jamadi 13th year. Below it are the words, On the 17th of the 2nd of Jamadi, year the same as above, entered in the record of abstracts or extracts. (Received) with a chobdar.

11. And a copy was made.

12. On the 19th of the second Jamadi, 13th year of the accession of the Most High copy was made in the record of the Mustavā, Deputy Diwan. (Ain, Vol. I. p. vi. Abul Fazl's Preface). Shah Ālam II came to the throne on 4th Jamadi I. A. H. 1173. But he directed that his regin should be reckoned from the date of his father's murder, 8th Rabi II. A. H. 1173.

13. Entered in the *Awarjat* (the accountant of the daily expenditures at the court (Ibid).

14. Copy in the record of His Honor the Kul Vakil on the 25th of Rajab, year 13th of the Accession. The procedure is thus described in Ain, Vol. I. pp. 261-262. "The *Çahib-i-Tarjih* or Military accountant, keeps the former *Ta'aliquah* with himself, writes its details on the Farman, and seals it and signs it. It is then inspected by the Mustavfi and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nazir and the Bakhshis do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwan, his accountant and the Vakil of the State."

15. The seal of the Vazir was put on the 25th of Rajab, 13th year of the Accession of the Most High. For functions of the Vazir, see Note 10 in the begining of the Notes to this Farman and Ain, Vol. I. p. vi. Abul Fazl's Preface.

16. This is a *Yaddahst* or abridged memorandum of the grant. An abstract was received to this effect, that an order was issued that the village of Gokul, in the Paraganah of Mahaban in the Sarkar of Islamabad, situated in the Subah of the Capital of Akbarabad has been granted as a tax free Inam to the Knower of Truths and Possessor of Knowledge, Gosain Murlidhar, and (his) descendants, out of kindness. A correct *Yaddasht* has been made and recorded (*Wagui'ah*) on the 9th of the second Jamadi in the 13th auspicious year.

17. Mehta Jaskaran, submitted a petition adorned with signature (i. e., approved by the Emperor) to the Daftar that Gosain Murlidhar was engaged night and day in the worship of God, and had many dependants (living) with him. He was desirous of Imperial favour, viz., that the village of Rasalpur alias Gokul in the Paraganah of Mahaban, in the Sarkar of Islamabad in the Suba of the capital of Akbarabad, may be granted to the abovementioned Gosain by way of Inam (tax free) and the (deed) may be sealed and signed by the hand of the officers of the *Daftar-e-Tan*, that the (words undecipherable) for the preparation of

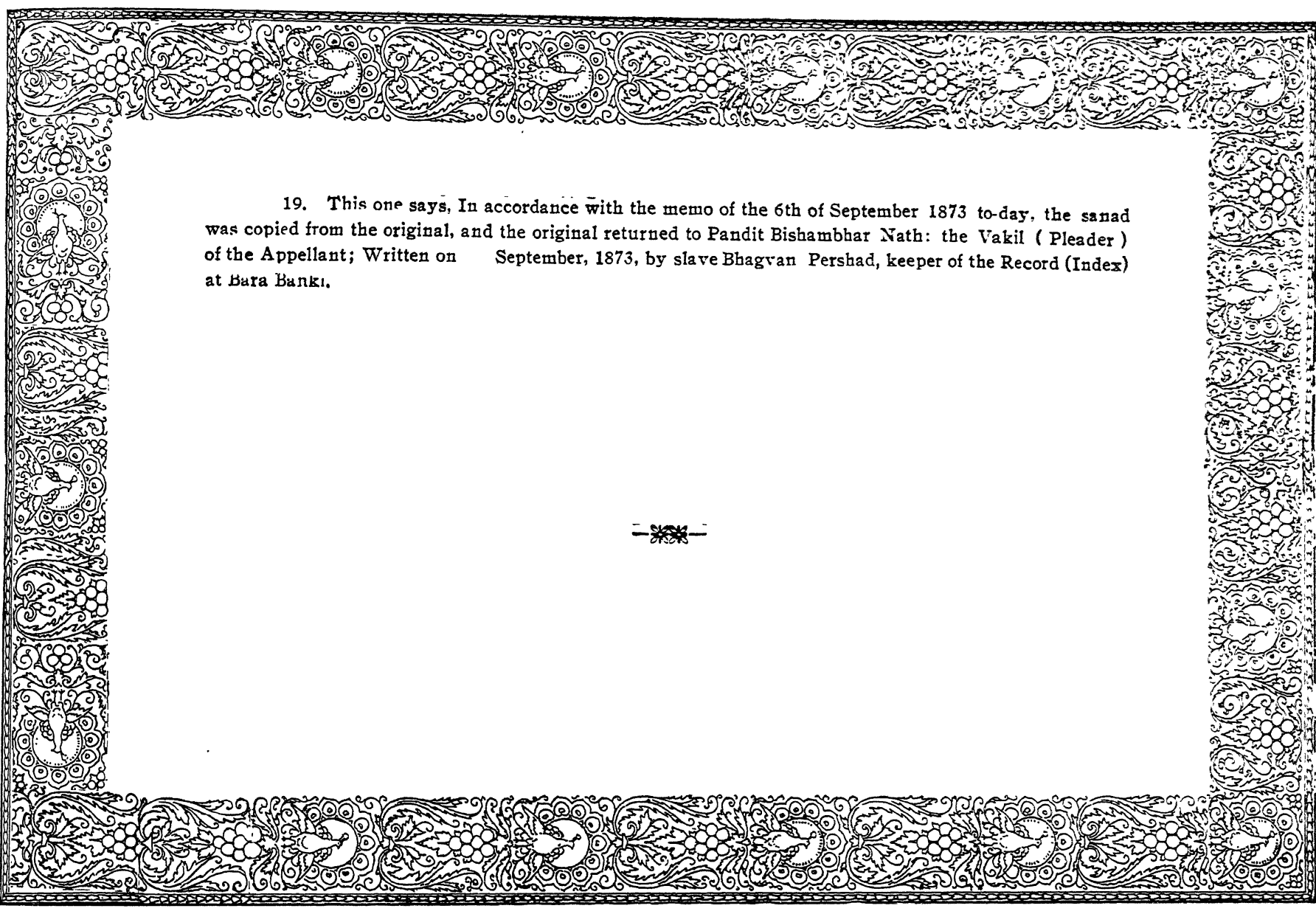
the Farman of the Most Exalted, verifying its tax-freeness and making out an honoured *Yaddasht* bestowing the grant on him generation after generation, and progeny after progeny, (It) may be prepared and given.

Sharh in the hand of Nāyab-e Vazir ul Mamalek, Jumale ul Mulk, Madār ul Maham: this, that it may be done in accordance with the Sadr (Sadre Jahān, a Companion of the King, the Chief Justice and Administrator General of the Empire. Ain. Vol, I. p. vii, Abul Fazl's Preface.)


The following note of Dr. Mody at p. 170 of Vol. XXI J. B. B. R. A. S. explains what is meant: Jaskaran Mehta applied for a fresh Farman and the Emperor ordered it. Thereupon this procedure was followed. "*Sharh Ta'aliquah* is a technical term used in the Ain-i-Akbari for an abridgment of the *Yaddasht* (memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about farmans etc. Its explanation in detail is said to be its Sharh. The following passages from the 10th and 11th Ain, will explain who made this yaddāsht or memorandum and Ta'aliquah or abridgment and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. He quotes pp. 258 and 259 of Ain, Vol. I. as in the passage preceding. "This passage of the 10th Ain, then explains the term Ta'aliquah (abridgment of memorandum) Waqui'ah (event or record) Waqui'ah Navis (writer of records) and Rasalah (writing or record) which occur in farmans." Sād is equivalent to *Sahih*, it is correct. It is tantamount to the Royal signature. In Parwanahs of Grants, the Rulers do not sign but merely write *Sahi* or *Sād* at the top

18. This Farman bears two very recent endorsements in Urdu. This one says, that in this Farman some words cannot be read and the paper has become torn in places, and in lines; and one word, on account of the paper being torn has disappeared and on its back.....has been applied.

Written by the slave Naginlal, Peshkar of the Sadr, abovementioned, 15th of March, 1868. (A. D.)



19. This one says, In accordance with the memo of the 6th of September 1873 to-day, the sanad was copied from the original, and the original returned to Pandit Bishambhar Nath: the Vakil (Pleader) of the Appellant; Written on September, 1873, by slave Bhagvan Pershad, keeper of the Record (Index) at Bara Banki.



XV.

1. This is the same seal as in Farman XIV. It is a little more legible. It reads thus:

(At the top): He is High, then,

Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-din Shah 'Alam Badshah, Ghazi,

son of 'Alamgir Shah,

son of Jahandar Badshah,

son of Shah 'Alam Badshah,

son of 'Alamgir Badshah,

son of Shah Jahan Badshah,

son of Jahangir Badshah,

son of Akbar Badshah,

son of Humayun Badshah,

son of Babar Badshah,

son of 'Umar Shaikh Shah,

son of Sultan Abu Sa'eed Shah,

son of Sultan Mohammad Shah,

son of Miran Shah,

son of Timur, Saheb Keran.

2. This seal reads, Farman of Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-din Mohammad Akbar Shah 'Alam Badshah, Ghazi.

The seals and endorsements on the back are word for word the same as in the prior Farman, showing that though the Farnians for Gokul and Gopalpur were granted in different years they were entered in the State Records on one and the same day.



XVI.

1. Bakhshi ul Mulk, Bakhshi of the Realm. An office like that of the Mir Bakhshi.
2. *Mo'atamadān* Trustworthy (officials). Perhaps it should be *Mutasaddiyān*.
- 2A. *T'alu'ka* means connected with, hence our revenue term Talu'ka, part or division of a Zilla or District. It is the same as the Paraganah of the prior sanads.
3. *Hasab ul Zimn*, according to the contents of: the contents as noted on the back. Compare the text in the Ain, Vol. I. p. 194 cited at p. 170 of Vol. XXI of the J. B. B. R. A. S. *Wa Sharh-e-ānrā dar zimn-e-Farman Navisad*," "Writes its details on the Farman."
- 3A. *Chandā*, Assessment, contribution, subscription. It is a Hindustani word.
- 3B. *Bhet*, Present to a superior, like the *Peshakash* of the prior Farmans.
4. *Rai'yatgiri*, Taking taxes.
5. *Mā'guzāri*, Rent paid in money. A Malguzar is a tenant, a subject, a landholder, one paying rents and taxes.
6. *Written, Kalami Shud*: This shows that it is not a Farman but a draft made out in the office of the Diwan. The seal of the Bakhshi is there. Ain, Vol. I. p. 261.
7. *Yasah: Sahih Ast*: It is correct.

ON THE BACK.

1. They should write these particulars or details (*Zimn* used in the body of the document).

2. Confirming of particulars according to the Exalted Order in special hand, viz., that the villages of Gokul and Mubarakpur with their *Zamindari* (Jamādāri) and Ghat, the grazing ground for cows, have been with the Goswamis, tax free and with the payments of dues remitted; the reason for this is that the community (family) of the Goswamis have been offering prayers for the (our) eternity allied Kingdom, and are hopeful of receiving the Royal trust, patronage and obligation; yielding therefore to the dictates of being kind to the poor (humble) and the duty of rendering everyone his due, a parwanah should be given according to the usual Kindness. Special (hand or) order should be issued in the name of the civil officers, present and future, for the prayer offerers of the Goswamis of Gokul.

3. *Village.* Property (lands) old and purchased newly. Mubarakpur, with the Zamindari of the Ghat. Shri Gokul.

4. Copy received in the Daftar of the Darogah on the 4th of Shawwal, the 15th year of accession.

5. Copy received in the Daftar of the Amānat, on the 24th of Shawwāl. (*Amin*, an officer employed to collect the revenues. p. 210 Vol. XXI. J. B. B. R. A. S.)

6. Entered in the Siyaya (?) of the Huzur on the 18th of Shawwal 15th year.

7. Copy received in the Diwan on the 17th of Shawwal, 15th year.

8. Copy received in the Daftar of abstracts (extracts) on the 24th of Shawwal, 15th year.

9. Shown to the Huzur on 19th January, A. D. 1801.



XVII.

1. The seal of Lord Lake contains a mixture of Mogul and English titles. He is thus described in it:

- (a) Samsām-ud-Doulat, (Sharp sword of the Kingdom),
- (b) Shuja'-ul-Mulk (Intrepid warrior of the State),
- (c) Khan Varan-e-Khan (Noble of Nobles),
- (d) Gerard, General Lord Lake,
- (e) Sipah Salar (Commander in Chief),
- (f) Fateh Jang (Victorious in battles),
- (g) One of the Members of Council of the Company,
- (h) Sar-e-Afwaj-e-Badshah-e-Inglistan (Chief of the Armies of the King of England),
- (i) Fidwiye Shah 'Alam, Badshah Ghazi. Servant of Emperor Shah Alam the Ghazi.

This means that the Suzerainty of the Emperor of Delhi was recognised.



नरजुमा फरमान अतीये जलालुद्दीन मोहम्मद अकबर बादशाह गाजी —

चूंकि दुआगोय लाकलाम बिठलराय कसबे गोकुल में रहता है इसलिये चाहिये कि खत्यायक पनाह के नोकरों में से वगैरों में से कोई भी दुआगोय लाकलाम व उसके मुतेलकीन व लवाहकीन के साथ किसी किस्म की मुजाहमत न करे और किसी भी वजह से कोई भी चीज उनसे न मांगे - छोड़ दें - कि दुआगोय अपने ठौर ठिकाने खातिर जमा से रहकर हमारे दोलत की बढती व इकबाल की तरफ़ी के वास्ते दुआ करता रहे - तहरीर २६ जमादीउलसानी सन ९८५ हिजरी . मुताबिकसन १५७७ ईस्वी व सम्वत १६३४ विक्रमी.

तख्तुमा फरमान अतिये जलालुद्दीन मोहम्मद अकबर बादशाह गाज़ी

इस वक्त में हमने हुकम फरमाया कि बिठलराय बिरहमन जो बिला शुबह हमारा शुभचिंतक है उसकी गांयें जहां कहीं हों चें- खालसा व जागीरदार कोई उनको तकलाफ नदेवे न रोके टोके व चरने से मुमानत न करें- छोट देवें कि उसकी गांयें चरती रहें ओर वो आजादी से गोकुल में रहे चाहिये कि हुकम के मुवाफिक तामील करें ओर कदामत रखें ओर हुकम के खिलाफ न करें- तहरीर तारीख ३ नहर सफर सन ९८६ हिजरी- मुताबिक सन १५८९ ईस्वी, सम्वत १६३८ विक्रमी,



नरजुमा हुका अतिये हमीदा बानु बेगम बिनत अली अकबर *

बड़ी दारउलाखलाफत की सरकार से मुकरर किये हुवे परगन महाबन के कौड़ी व मोहतमिम वगैरा का मालूम होवे कि फरमान अदालत निशान के मुताबिक दुआगोय खाकलाम बिठले सराय ब्रिह्मण की गोपे ब्रह्म कहीं हों चेरं खालसा व जागीरदार का कोई आदमी शेफ न करे व मनान करे छोड दें कि उसकी गोपे चरती रहें ओर वो खातिर जमा रहे- चाहीये कि हुका के मुवाफिक तामील करें ओर इसके खिलाफ न होने पावे- तहरीर तारीख १० रमजान सन ८८८ हिजरी - मुताबिक सन १५८१ ईस्वी व सम्बत १६३८ विक्रमो-



३-ए

तजुमा हुका खानखाना मुरीदखं बहादुर मियहमान्या.

मौजूदा व आइन्दा होनेवाले आमिन्नान परगना को मालूम रहे कि चूंकि मौज साबो बोगा में गावों की
चरागाह है और गोगधन की गावें चरती हैं चाहिये कि कोराक, निगहवानी व गाव गुमागि प्रेक्षी बावन
गक टोक न करें क्योंकि ये जान बूझकर बावगो गये हैं - हुकम आली के मुताबिक तामील कर पूरा करें
और कभी हर साल नया परवाना न मांगें - तहरीर रोज आजर आजर माह इलाही सन ३३ जलूसी

मुताबिक शहर मोहम्म उल्लराम मन ११७ हिजरी

तरजुमा फरमान बालाशान अतिये जलालुद्दीन मोहम्मद अकबर बादशाह गांजी *

इम मुबारिक वक्त में फरमान जारी हुवा कि गुसांई विठ्ठलराय साकिन गोकुल मेजे जतीपुरा मुत्तसिल व परगने गोरधन में जमींदारों से रूपया देकर जमीन खरीद कर मकानात व बागात व गावों के खिडक व मेदिर गोरधननाथ के कारखाने तैयार करा कर रहता हे इसलिये हुका जारी हुवा कि ऊपर लिखे मेजे को गुसांई मजकूर के कब्जे में नसलन बाद नसल माफ व वागुजाशत छोडा गया - इसलिये मौजूदा व आइन्दा होने वाले हाकिम, आमिल, मुहिम्यों के मुत्तसदी, कोडी, जागीरदार व जमींदार इस बडे हुक्म की तामील कर मेजे मजकूर की मय जमीन जर खरीद के उसके कब्जे में नसलन बाद नसल रहने दें और अबवाय ममनूआ, तकालीफ दीवानी, व मताखयात सुलतानी व माल बजहात व कुल अवामिनात व सरदरखती वहां के बायत मुजाहम न होकर एतराज न करें और हर साल नया फरमान ब पारवाना न मांगें व इसके खिलाफ न करें ताके मारफत आगाह यानी ईश्वर की पहचानने वाला गुसांई बादशाही महारबानयों से मशकूर हो कर इस सलतनत के हमेशा कयाम की हुजा करता रहे तस्वीर तारीख ८ खुरदाद माह इलाही सन ३८ जलूसी - मुताबिक सन १५८४ ईस्वी व सम्वत १६५१ विक्रमी.

४-ए

तरनुमा फरमान अंतिये जलालुद्दीन मोहम्मद अकबर बादशाह गार्जा :

कौड़ी व जागीर दायान परगने मथुरा सहारा मिर्गोथ वऔड जो हर तरह पुगत पनाही मे हैं व उम्मेदवार रहते
हैं जान कि जहान की तामील करन काबिल हुक्म जारी किया गया कि इसके बाद ऊपर लिखे परगनों के इर्दे -
गिर्दे और नियह न करें और शिकार न करें और आदमियों की गाँवों को चरने से न रोकें इसके लिये जागायदार
व कौड़ी ऊपर लिखे हुक्म को ठगव जानकर हुक्म मजकूर से पूरा बन्दोबस्त रखें कि कोई शास्त्र इसके विरुद्ध
करने की हिम्मत न कर सके इस बात को अपना फज जानें - तहरीर बतारिख रोज दी मस ११ सुबहदाद
साह इत्याही सन ३८ जलूमि - दारउलसलतनत लाहौर

तरजुमा फरमान अतिये जलालुद्दीन मोहम्मद अकबर बादशाह गाजी.

इस वक्त में ये फरमान आखीरान सादिर हुवा कि मोजे गोकुल मय गुजरघाट मुतेलिके परगने महाबन
यकुरद्वारे के खर्चवास्ते गुसांई बिहुलख को नसलन बाद नसल मुकररि कर सपुर्द किया गया इस
लिये हुकम दिया जाता है कि मुहिमों के मुतसद्दी जागीरदार, कौडी, आभिल व चौधरी लोग इस
हुकम की तामील कर इस मोजे कौ मय गुजरघाट गुसांई मजकूर के कब्जे में रहने देवें जरा भी बदला
बदली न करें और इइत माल व जहात व कुल तत्काली फ दीवानी व मतालबात सुलतानी से माफ व
आजाद समझकर रोक न करें और हासाल जदीद फरमान व परवाना न मांगें कि गुसांई मजकूर सुल
तानी इनायतों से बेफिकर और फारिग उल बाल होकर सलतनत के हमेशा कयाम की दुआ करता रहे
तहरीर तारीख १५ खुर्दाद माह इलाही सन ३८ जलूसी मुताबिक सन १५८४ ईस्वी व सम्वत्

१६५१ विक्रमी.

तरजुमा फरमान अतिये अबुलमुजफ़र शाहाबुद्दीन मोहम्मद साहिब किरान तानी शाह जहां
बादशाह गाजी.

परगने सिहार के मौजूदा व आइन्दा होने वाले मुतसद्दियों को मालूम हो कि इस वक्त मालूम हुआ है कि
मुसाई साकिन गोकुल बिठूर राय टिकैत गोरधननाथ मौजे जतीपुरा उर्फ गोपालपुर मुतसिल गोरधन
में जमींदारी से रूपया देकर जमीन खरीद करके मकानात व गावों के खिडक़ व बागात व ठाकुर गोरधन-
नाथ के कारवाने जात तैयार कराकर वहां रहता है - लिहाजा हुक़म सादिर फरमाया गया कि मौजे मजकूर
की जमीन ठाकुरद्वारे के खर्च वास्ते हज़ूर में से भाफ़ और बाग़ुजाशत की गई चाहिये कि हाकिम आमिल
व जागीरदार लोग मौजूदा व आइन्दा होने वाले इस हुक़म की तामील कर मुसाई मजकूर के कबजे में -
नसलन बाद नसल छौदें और इसमें ज़रा भी अदला बदली न करें - मौजे मजकूर की इहत मालवजहत व
इस्तराजात, पैशकश सरकार, दहनीमी, मुकद्दमी, सद्दी, कानुंगोई व कुल तकालीफ़ दीवानी व
मतालबात मुलतानी मौजे मजकूर बाबत मुजाहमत न करें और इसबारे में नया फरमान व परवाना न
मांगें और हुक़म के खिलाफ़ न करें - तहरीर तारीख़ १७ मेहर माह इलाही सन ६ जलूसी मुताबिक़

सन १६३३ ईस्वी व सम्वत १६८० विक्रमी



तरजुमा फरमान अतिये अबुलमुजफ़र शहाबुद्दीन मोहम्मद साहब किरान सानी शाहजहाँ
बादशाह गाज़ी

इस वक्त फरमान आलीशान जारी हुवा कि मोज़े गोकुल परगने महाबन ठाकुरद्वारे के खर्ब के वास्ते क़दीम से गुमाँई बिठलराय के पातों को माफ़ हे लिहाज़ा हुक्म फरमाया जाता हे कि मुहिमों के मुतसद्दी और जागीरदार लोग मोज़ूदा व आइन्दा होनेवाले इस हुक्म की पूरे तौर पर तामील कर मोज़े मज़कूर को ठाकुरद्वारे के खर्ब वास्ते वागुज़ार रखें और गुमाँई मज़कूर के नसलन बाद नसल माफ़ रखें इस में ज़ग़ भी रद्दो बदल न करें और कुल अवारिजात व सायर इस्वरजात व कुल वजूहात व सरदारख़्ती व कुल तकालीफ़ दीवानी से माफ़ और आज़ाद समझकर हर साल नया फरमान व परवाना नमाँगे कि गुमाँई मज़कूर जो क़दीम से इस सलतनत का दुआगो हे खुशहाली के साथ फारिग़उलबाल होकर हमेशा इस सलतनत के कयाम व तरक्की की दुआ करता रहे - तहरीर तारीख़ १७ मेहर इलाही सन ६

जलूसी- मुताबिक़ सन १६३३ ईस्वी व सम्वत १६८० विक्रमी.

तरजुमा फरमान अतिये मोहम्मद दाराशिकोह बिन शाह जहान बादशाह गाजी :

इस वक्त में फरमान आलीशान जागे हुवा कि चूंकि बिठुरे सराय बलद दीक्षित दामोदर जो इस सलतनत के दुआगोयो में से हे कस्बे गोकुल में रहता हे ओर चूंकि ये मुकाम उसका बतन हे उसका माल व मवेशी वरा रहते हैं चाहिये कि अहदी किसी वजह से उसके साथ मुजाहमत न करे ताकि ये खुश हाल रहकर इस सलतनत के हमेशा कयाम की दुआ में मजागूल रहे ओर आस पास के बदमाश व दूसरे लोग उस से मुजाहमत मोतखिज न होने पावे।

तारुमा परवाना अतिये नवाब इसहाक आजम खां बन्दये शाह जहां बादशाह गाजी :

परगने नहाबन के मौजूदाव आइन्दा होने वाले मुतसद्दीयों को मालूम हो कि एक शाहस मुसम्मो नाथाने जा-
हिर किया कि अगर गोकुल की मन्दी की बेयाई मेरे सपुर्दे कर दी जावे तो सालाना १७५) रुपये सरकार में जमा
कराऊं चूंकि इस मन्दी का शसिल मामूल के मुवाफिक सरकार में नई बंधता है और ये भी ज़ाहिर हुआ कि इस
पेटूक ज़रिये से नाथा चाहता है कि अपने वास्ते एक दुकान करले इस मूलत में ब्योपारियों का आना जाना बन्द हो
कर वसंके तमाम आशियानों को जो कि इस मन्दी से गुल्ला बगेरा खरीदते हैं एक नई दिक्कत हो जावेगी - कदीम से
इस मन्दी की बेयाई गुस्ताई बिठ्ठल राय के आदमियों के तालुक है और ब्योपारी और खरीदार थोड़ा सा बतौर
उजाग्न अपनी ज़ामन्दी से गुस्ताई मजकूर के आदमियों को देते हैं इसलिये खल्क अज़ाह के फायदे के लिये
हुकम दिया जाता है कि मन्दी मजकूर की बेयाई बदस्तूर साबिक गुस्ताई बिठ्ठल राय के आदमियों के ही मुते
द्विक जानकर दूसरे को दाखल न देन दें कि ब्योपारी खोग खातिर जमा से आते जाते रहें और नई कबा
हत न होवे इसबारे में पूरी ताकीद समझें - तारीख १० शाबान सन १०५६ हिजरी मुताबिक सन

१६४६ ईस्वी सन्वत १७०४ विक्रमी

तरजुमा परवाना अतिया नब्बाब मुकरमतखा बन्दये शाहजशं बादशाह गाजी

अमरार में परगने मशबन के मुहिमों के मुतमदियों को मालूम शेवे कि परगने भजकूर के मोजे गोकुल की मन्दी गुमाई गिरधरखाल को अता हुई लिहाजा हुक्म दिया जाता है कि मुतजिकरे सदर मन्दी को गुमाई भजकूर के बागुजार रखें और किसी वजह से मुजाहम व मौत रिज नशवे - इस बारे में पूरी ताकीद जानें - तहरीर तारीख १० सफर सन १० जलूसी मुताबिक सन १६४६ ईस्वी व सम्वत

१७०४ विक्रमी



तरनुमा फरमान अनिये मोहम्मद दारा शिकोह खान शाहजहां बादशाहगज़ी.

काबिल इनायत व अहमान मुकरमतख़ां को मालूम होवे कि बिठूरराय वल्द दामोदर साकिन गोकुल व गोपाल
पुर कि इस सलतनत के कदीमी दुआगोयों में से हे इस वक्त हमारे हज़ूर में आया और उसने तुमहारे हुसन अमल
की तारीफ़ की अब हुज़ूर पुर हज़ूर से रुख़सत होकर अपने वतन में आता हे इसलिये हुक्म सादिर फरमाया जाता
हे कि अगर किसी काम व मुहिम में तुमसे मदद चाहे तो हिसाबी अमूर में कोशिश व मदद करोगे अरदी को
न छोड़ोगे कि हिसाब के ख़िलाफ़ उससे व उसके भाइयों से मोतरिज़ न होवे ताकि खातिर जमा से अपने
वतन में आबाद रहकर इस सलतनत के हक़ में हमेशा दुआ करता रहे - तारीख़ २७ ज़मादीउलअव्वल
सन १०५७ हिजरी मुताबिक सन १६४७ ईस्वी व सम्वत १६८५ विक्रमी.

नरजुमा फरमान अतिये शाहबुलन्द इकबाल मोहम्मद दाराशिकोह बिन शाहजहां बादशाह गाजी :-
 मौनुदा व आइन्दा होने वाले मृतमदियान परगना बादशाही इनायतों के उम्मेदवार रहकर जाने कि मुने में
 आया है कि मंदिर गोरधननाथ की गायें जो गोपालपुर में रहती हैं वह मौजूबद्गांव बबच्छा की जमीन में जो पगले
 मजकूर में हैं चरने जाती हैं इसलिये बड़ा हुकम मादिर फरमाया जाता है कि जिसकदर भी मंदिर मजकूर की गायें
 वहां पर चरने जावें कोई भी उनमें चर्गई के हार्मल्य बाबत गोक टोक व एतगज़न करे और किसी तरह का गालब व
 आमन एवं डम बोर में पूर्ण तर्कीद जानें- तहरीर ८ शहर जमादी अखसानी सन ३२ जलूम मुताबिक डिजरी सन १०६८.

तरजुमा फरमान अतिये शाह बुलन्दशुक्रबाल मोहम्मददाराशिकोह बिन शाहजहां बादशाह गाजी-

परगने महाबन के मोजूदा व आइन्दा होने वाले मुतसद्दियों को मालूम होवे चूंकि मालूम हुआ है कि मोजे गोकुल मुतलिक परगने मजकूर बमूजिव फरमान आलीशान दरबस्त ठाकुरद्वारे गोकुलनाथ के सेयक गिरधर के खेरात में मुकररि या व बाद इन्तकाल गिरधर मजकूर उसके बुरसा काबिज होगये लिहाजा ये हुक्म जल्दी लुलकदर जारी होता है कि उस मोजे को बतामील फरामीन अतिये साबिका गिरधर बलर बिठुल गय मुतवफा मजकूर के पोते व दूसरे वारसों के कब्जे में पहले के मुवाफिक रहने दें और मना की हुई तकलीफों में से कोई तकलीफ न देकर खुजाहमत न करें- तहरीर तारीख २७ रज्जब सन १०६८ हिजरी मुताबिक सन १६५७ ईस्वी व सम्वत् १७१४ विक्रमी

तरजुमा फरमान अतिये अबुलमुजफ़र जलालुद्दीन शाहआलम बादशाह गाज़ी :

इस मुबारक वक्त में बड़ा फ़रमान जारी हुआ कि मौज़े रसूलपुर उर्फ़ गोकुल परगने महाबन सरकार इसलामाबाद मज़ाफ़ सूबे मुस्तकिम उल रिबलफ़त अकबराबाद इकीकत व मारफ़त के जानने वाले गुसाईं मुख़्तियार को मय उनके ख़डकों के हस्बउल निमन इनाम आलतमंगा में माफ़ी तसदीक व याददाशत की जाती है मो चाहिये कि हमारे नामदार बेटे व बड़े मरतबे वाले वज़ीर अमीर हाकिम आमिल व दीवानों मुहिमों के मुतसद्दी व सुलतानी मामलों के कफ़ील जागीरदार व कोडी मौजूदा व आइन्दा होने वाले इस बड़े हुक़म के कयाम व बराबर जारी रखने की कोशिश करके इस मौज़े को नसलन बाद नसल व बतनन बाद बतन इनके क़ब्ज़े में बाग़ुजार रखें और तगैयुर तबद्दुल के सदमों से बचा हुआ जानकर इस्त पेशकश सूबेदारी फ़ौजदारी माल बख़्शत और कुल इग़राजात मिस्तक़िला, मोहसिलाना, दाग़ग़ाना, शिकार, बेग़ार, देहनामी, मुक़द्दमी, सद्दई, कानूंगोई के लिये मुज़ाहमत न करें और कुल दीवानी तकलीफ़ों और बादशाही मताख़दो से माफ़ ज़ने - इसबारे में पूरा ताकीद जानकर हर साल नई सनद न मांग और इस बंड हुक़म के ख़िलाफ़ काररवाई न करें - तहीर १५ ज़मादीउलसानी सन १३ जलूसी मुताबिक़ सन १७६६ ईस्वी व सम्वत १८२१ विक्रमी +

तरनुमा फरमान अतिये अबुलमुज्जूर जग्यालुद्दीन शाहआलम बादशाह गाज़ी :

इम मुबारक वक्त में बख़्श फरमान जारी हुवा कि मौज़ा गोपालपुर उर्फ़ ज़तीपुर तअलुक़े गोरधन परगना सहार सरकार इमला माबाद मजाफ़ मुन्ने मुस्तक़िर उल ख़िद्याफत अकबराबाद हकीकत व मारफ़त के जानने वाले युसाई मुख़्तियार की मय उनके लड़कों के हक्क उल ज़िमत इनाम आलतमगा में माफ़ी तमदीक़ व याददागत की जाती है मो चाख़िये कि हमारे नामदार बेटे व बड़े मरतबे वाले यज़ीर अमीर हाकिम आमियल व दीवानी मुहिम्मा के मुतसदी व मुलतानी मामल्ये के कफ़ील जागीरदार व कीड़ी मौज़दा व आइन्दा होनेवाले इस बड़े हुक़्म के कयाम व बग़ावर जारी रखने की कोशिश करके इस मौज़े को नसलन बाद नसल व बतयन वाद यतन इनके कब्ज़े में बाग़ुज़ार ग़वे और तंगपुर तबलुल के सदमा से बचाइवा ज़ानकर इस्सत पठाकरा सूबेदारी, फौजदारी, ग़ान्य यज़रान और कुल इयराजात मिसल किंवा मालसियाजा दोगेगाना शिकार बग़ार, दइनीमी, मुकदमी, सद्दुई कान् गीर्द के लिये मुजाहमत न करे और कूल दीवाना तकलीफ़ों और बादशाही मतालबो से माफ़ जायें- इस बारे में पूरी ताक़ीद ज़ानकर हमाल्य नई मनद न मांगे और इस बड़े हुक़्म के ख़िलाफ़ काग़वाई न करे - तइरी १५ जमादी उलसानी सन ११९७मी. मुतायिक़ सन १७५५ ईस्वी व मम्बत १८२१ बिक्रमी.

तरजुमा परवाना अनिये बख्शी उलमुन्क बुलफिकार उद्दोला मिरजा नजफखाने गालिब जंग बहादुर
फिदवी शाह्मखानम बादशाह गाजी .

कस्बे गोकुल तालुके महाबब ममाफ सुबे मुसकिर उलखिलफत अकबराबाद के चौधरी कानूंगो मोतमिद मजारे और
अहल अमला को मान्युम होवे कि मौजा श्री गोकुल और मुबारिकपुर मय आराजी मुतेलिका उनके हस्ब उल जिमन गोमाई
सुरन्दाधर के नाम लिखो हुवा कदीम में मुकररि है और हमेशा से उनके कब्जे और तमरेफ में चला आता है लिखा जा सकार
से भी माफ और वागुजार किया जाता है चाहिये कि ऊपर लिखे देहात बोगा की मिल्क मौरस . चन्दा . भेट . खानना मुकर-
रि है मामुल के मुवाफिक उनके कब्जे में माफ जान कोई तरह की मुजाहमत न करें और रैयतगीरी व मालगुजारी में सबाई
और ईमानदारी के साथ फसल बफसल मालगुजारी पहांचति रहें इस बारे में पूरी पूरी ताकीद जान लिखे मुजि-
ब तामील करें - तारीख १५ शव्वाल सन १५ जलूसी मुताबिक सन १७६६ ईसवी व सम्वत १८२३ विक्रमी +

તે પોતે સ્વતંત્ર છે

જલારુદ્દીન મહમ્મદ અકબર બાદશાહ ગાઝી

જલારુદ્દીન મહમ્મદ અકબર બાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ફરમાન

વિકુલદાસ જે કે નિઃશંક હુમારું લખું ઇચ્છનાર છે, અને જે કસબે ગોકુળમાં રહે છે, તેમને તેમ જ તેમનાં સગાંવહુલાં અને નોકરચાકરને આ આખી દુનીઆના રક્ષક બાદશાહના તેમ જ બીજા અધિકારીઓએ કોઈ રીતે સતાવવા નહિ, અને તેમની પાસેથી કોઈ પણ રીતે કોઈ પણ ચીજની માગણી કરવી નહિ. એમને પોતાના રહેઠાણમાં અને પોતાની જગામાં નિરાંતે રહેવા દેવા, કે જેથી તે હુમારી હુમેશ વધતી જતી કીર્તિ અને હુમારા ચિરસ્થાયી દરજ્જાને માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં મશગૂલ રહે. આ જે લેખ લખાયો છે તે મુજબ તેમણે (અધિકારીઓએ) વર્તવું: એની વિરૂદ્ધ કશું વર્તન કરવું નહિ.

લખ્યું, બીજા જમાદી મહીનાની ૨૯ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૯૮૫ (શુકરવાર, ૧૩ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૫૭૭ વિ. સંવત્ ૧૬૩૪).



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તે પોતે મહાન છે

ઈશ્વર મહાન છે

જલારુદ્ધીન મહામ્મદ અકબર બાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ફરમાન

દાલમાં હમે હુકમ કર્યો છે કે નિઃશંક હુમારું ભલું ઇચ્છનાર, પવિત્ર જનોઈના ધારણ કરનાર (એટલે કે આત્માણ) વિકુલરાયની ગાયો જ્યાં પણ હોય ત્યાં તેને ચરવા દેવીઃ ખાલસા કે જાગીર કેાઈ પણ જાતની જમીનમાં તેને કોઈએ કશામાત્ર પણ રંજાડવી કે હેરાન કરવી નહિ અને ચરવા દેવી. સદરહુ વિકુલરાય ભલે એ બાબતને વિષે ગાકુળમાં નિશ્ચિન્ત થઈ રહે. આ હુકમ થયો છે તેનાથી વિરુદ્ધ કોઈએ વર્તવું નહિ, (કારણ) સૌ આ હુકમ મુજબ ચાલવા અને તેને અમલમાં મૂકવા બંધાયેલા છે.

લખ્યું, માસ સફરની ૩ છ તારીખે હી. સ. ૯૮૯ (ગુરુવાર ૯ મી માચ ઇ. સ. ૧૫૮૧ વિ. સંવત ૧૬૩૮)

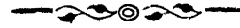


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તે પોતે મહાન છે હમીદાબાનુ, અલી અકબરની પુત્રી હમીદાબાનુ બેગમનો હુકમ

શહેનશાહના પાટનગર આગ્રાના સરકારમાં આવેલા પરગણા મહાવનના કરોડી તથા બાહોશ અમલ-
દારો અને બીજાઓને માલમ થાય કે મહાન અને ન્યાયી શહેનશાહના ફરમાન મુજબ નિઃશંક (હમારું) ભયું
મજબૂતાર, પવિત્ર જનોઈના ધારણ કરનાર (બ્રાહ્મણ) વિકુલેશરાયની ગાયોને બાલસા કે બગીર જમીન જ્યાં તે
હોય ત્યાં કોઈએ રંજાડવી નહિ કે ચરતાં અટકાવવી નહિ. એમની ગાયોને (જ્યાં હોય ત્યાં) ચરતાં અટકાવવી નહિ;
સદરહુ વિકુલરાયે તેટલા માટે નિશ્ચિત મનથી રહેવું. બધાની ફરજ છે કે તેમણે (આ) હુકમ મુજબ વર્તવું. તેનાથી
વિરુદ્ધ વર્તન કરવું નહિ.

લખ્યું, રમઝાન ઉલ્લમુબારક માસની ૧૦ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૯૮૯ (રવિવાર ૮ મી અક્ટોબર ઇ. સ.
૧૫૮૧. વિ. સંવત્ ૧૬૩૮).



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ખાન બહાદૂર સિપૈહ સાલાર ખાન ખાનાન, અકબરશાહના ચેલાનું ફરમાન.

આઠ પરગણાના હાલના તેમજ હવે પછીના અમલદારોને માલમ થાય કે સાવી વગેરે ગામોમાં ગાય તથા બગદને ચરવાની જમીન આવેલી છે, તેથી તેમના પર નિગેહખાની રાખવાનો કર લેવા અથવા કે ગાયોની સંખ્યાની ગણતરી કરવાને બદલે કોઈએ તેમને ચરતાં અટકાવવાં કે હેરાન કરવાં નહિ, કારણ એ ગામ તેમને બાણી બેઠને અક્ષિશ આપવામાં આવ્યાં છે. આ મહાન આજ્ઞા મુજબ તેમણે વર્તવું અને દર સાલ નવી નવી રજા ચીકૂી માગવી નહિ.

લખયું, રોઝઆઝર માહ આઝર સન ૩૩, તારીખ ૧૧ મી મોહરમઉલ હરામ મહીનો, હીજરી સને ૯૯૭, (૧ લી ઈવિંગ્સર ઇ. સ. ૧૫૮૮.)



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દશ્વિર મહેાંટો છે

તે સ્વતંત્ર છે

(અકબર બાદશાહની વંશાવળી)

જલાલુદ્દીન મહુમ્મદ અકબર બાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ફરમાન

હાલનો સમય જેનો પાયો સુખશાંતિ પર રચાયેલો છે તેવા સમયમાં મહાન્ બાદશાહનું ફરમાન દાઢવામાં આવ્યું કે, ગોકુળના રહીશ, ગોસ્વામી વિકુલરાયે ગોરધનની પાસે આવેલા પરગણાના ગામ મોજે જતી-પુરમાં જમીનના માલિકોને હામ આપી જમીન ખરીદી તેના પર મકાન, બાગ બગીચા, ગૌશાળા અને કારખાનાં-ગોરધનનાથના મંદિરને અંગે-બાંધ્યાં છે, અને તે પોતે ત્યાં રહે છે, માટે નીચે મુજબ સર્વમાન્ય હુકમ કાઢી જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે ઉપર જણાવેલું ગામ સદરહુ ગોસ્વામીના તાબામાં પેઢી દર પેઢી અને સર્વ જાતના કર વેરાથી મુક્ત કરી સોંપવામાં આવ્યું છે, તેટલા માટે હાલના તથા હવે પછીના સઘળા મુલકી અધિકારીઓ, અમલદારો, કરોડીઓ, જાગીરદાર અને જમીનદારોએ આ ઉચ્ચ આજ્ઞાને અમલમાં મૂકવા પ્રયત્ન કરતા રહેવું, અને સદરહુ મહાન ગોસ્વામીના તાબામાં સદરહુ ગામમાં ખરીદ કરેલી જમીન પેઢી દર પેઢી રહેવા દેવી, અને તેમની પાસે કોઈ પણ જાતના સરકારી કર* આપવાની માંગણી કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા અથવા રંજાડવા નહિ. તેમ વખતો વખત તેમની પાસે નવાં નવાં ફરમાન કે પરવાના માગવા નહિ. આ બાબતમાં અમલદારોએ આ હુકમથી વિરુદ્ધ વર્તવું નહિ કે

* આ સઘળા કર કેવા કેવા પ્રકારના હતા તેની સમજ જોડેની અંગ્રેજી ટીકામાં આપી છે, તેથી તે કરનાં નામ તથા પ્રકાર અહીં આપ્યાં નથી.

જેથી ઇશ્વરી જ્ઞાનના જ્ઞાતા એ ગોરવામી હુમારી આ બાદશાહી મહેરબાની માટે કૃતજ્ઞ થઈ રહી હુમારા ગિર-
સ્થાપી રાજ્યના શ્રેય-માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં દરરોજ મશગૂલ રહે.

લખ્યું, ખોરદાદ મહીનાને ૯ મે દિવસે, ઇલાહીસનના વરસ ૩૮ માં (હી. સ. ૧૦૦૧ રવીવાર તા. ૨૦
મી મે ઇ. સ. ૧૫૬૩. વિ. સંવત્ ૧૬૫૧).

(આ ફરમાનની તેમજ બીજા ફરમાનોની પાછળ બુદ્ધા બુદ્ધા મ્હોટા અમલદારોના તથા દફતરદારોના
મહોર સિક્કા છે. તેની સમજ અંગ્રેજી ભાગમાં આપી છે.)



૪ અ

ઇશ્વર મહાન છે

જલાલુદ્દીન મહુમ્મદ અકબર બાદશાહ ગાઝીનું ફરમાન

બાદશાહ હુઝરતની દરેક કૃપા તથા મહેરબાનીના ઉમેદવાર એવા મથુરા, સાહારા, માનગુતેહ અને
ઓઝ પરગણાના કરોડીઓ અને જાગીરદારોને માલમ થાય કે આખી દુનીયાને જેને તાબે થવું પડે એવું શાહી
ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે કે હવે પછી મજદૂર પરગણાની પાડોશમાં કોઈએ મોર પક્ષીને મારવું (ઝંખે કરવું)
નહિ અથવા તેા તેનો શિકાર કરવો નહિ, તથા રૈયતની ગાયોને ચરતી અટકાવવી નહિ. જાગીરદારો તથા કરોડી-
ઓએ હુકમ મુજબ વર્તવું; તેના વિરુદ્ધ વર્તવાની કોઈને પણ તક આપવી નહિ. આ બાબતને પોતાના ઓદ્ધાની
ફરજ સમજવી.

રાજધાનીના શહેર લાહોરમાં લખ્યું, દેમહેર રૂઝ, ૧૫ મી તારીખ ખોરદાદ માસ. સને ૩૮.
(તારીખ ૫ મી રમઝાન હી. સ. ૧૦૦૧. તારીખ ૨૬ મી મે ઇ. સ. ૧૫૬૩.)

૫

ધશ્વિર મહેલો છે

તે સ્વતંત્ર છે

જલાલુદ્દીન મહમ્મદ અકબર બાદશાહ ગાઝીતું ફરમાન

હાલમાં સુખશાંતિપ્રદર્શક એક ઉચ્ચ ફરમાન એવી રીતનું કાઢવામાં આવ્યું હતું કે તેમના ઠાકોરદાર એટલે તેમની મૂર્તિના મંદિરના ખરચ માટે ગોકુળ ગામ તથા મહાવન પરગણાનો હોડીઘાટ પેઢી દર પેઢી ગોસ્વામી વિકુલરાયને યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરૌ આપવામાં આવ્યાં છે તથા તેનો કબજો પણ સોંપી દેવામાં આવ્યો છે, તો આ સર્વમાન્ય આજ્ઞા કાઢવામાં આવે છે કે સઘળા દીવાની અમલદારો, બગીરદારો, કરોડીઓ, મુલકી અધિકારીઓ અને ચોધરીઓએ સદરહુ હુકમ મુજબ વર્તવું અને સદરહુ ગામ તથા હોડીઘાટ સદરહુ શખસના તાબામાં રહેવા દેવાં. એ હુકમમાં તેમણે જરા પણ ફેરફાર કરવો નહિ, અને જમીનના કર, કારખાનાના કર, કેઈ પણ બતને માથાવેરો, દીવાની કે ફાજદારી, વેઠ વગેરેની માગણી તેમની પાસ કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા નહિ; તેમને એ સઘળી માગણીઓથી મુક્ત ગણવા. દરેક વર્ષે તેમની પાસ નવાં નવાં ફરમાન કે પરવાના માગવા નહિ, જેથી કરીને એઓ આ શહેનશાહી મહેરબાનીથી સંતોષ પામી નિરાંતે હમારા ચિરસ્થાથી રાજ્યના શ્રેય માટે ધશ્વિર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં મશગૂલ રહે.

લખ્યું, ખોરદાદ માસને ૧૫ મે દિવસે ધલાહીસનેના વરસ ૩૮ માં (રમઝાન માસની ૫ મી તારીખ, હી. સ. ૧૦૦૧, શનીવાર ૨૬ મી મે ઈ. સ. ૧૫૬૩. વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૬૫૧).



શાહજહાન બાદશાહનું ફરમાન

સહાર પરગણાના હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા અમલદારો જેઓ કે શહેનશાહની મહેરબાનીથી જ એ ઓદ્ધો ભોગવે છે, તેમને માલમ થાય કે હમણા હમારી પવિત્ર દરબારમાં એવી અરજ ગુજારવામાં આવી છે કે ગોવર્ધનનાથના ટીકાયત ગોસ્વામી વિઠ્ઠલરાય જેઓ ગોકુળમાં રહે છે તેમણે મોઝે જતીપુર ઉર્ફે ગોપાલપુરમાં દામ આપી જમીનના માલિક પાસથી જમીન ખરીદી તેનાપર મકાન, ગૌશાળા, બાગ બગીચા, કારખાનાં-ગોવર્ધન નાથના ઉપયોગ માટે-ઉભાં કરી પોતે પણ ત્યાં રહે છે, તે ઉપરથી સર્વમાન્ય અને આકાશ જેવો ઉચ્ચ હુકમ બહાર પાડવામાં આવે છે કે એ મોઝની જમીનો નામદાર શહેનશાહ તરફથી તેમને તેમના પોતાના ઉપયોગ તેમ જ ઠાકોરદારના ખર્ચ માટે કરથી મુક્ત તથા વેરા ભરવાની જવાબદારીથી રહિત એવી રીતે આપવામાં આવી છે, તેથી વર્તમાન તથા ભવિષ્યમાં થનારા દરેક હાકેમ અને મુલકી અમલદારો તથા જાગીરદારોની એ ફરજ છે કે તેમણે આ મહાન શહેનશાહી હુકમને જારી રાખવા તથા તેનો અમલ થતો રહે તે બાબતની તાકીદ રાખવા કોશેશ કરવી, અને સદરહુ ગોસ્વામીના તાબામાં એ જમીનો પેઠી દર પેઠી ચાલુ રહેવા દેવી. એ હુકમમાં તેમણે જરાપણ ફેરફાર કરવો નહિ; તેમ જ એ મોઝ (ગામ)ને સંબંધે જમીનવેરા, કારખાનાનો વેરા, માથાવેરા, મુકાદમીવેરા, કાતુન ગોઘનો વેરા, દીવાની કર, શહેનશાહી માગણીઓ, વગેરે જાતના વેરા ભરવાની માગણી કરી તેમને હેરાન કરવા નહિ. તેમ દરેક વરસે તેમની પાસે નવાં નવાં ફરમાન માગવાં નહિ, અને આ ફરમાનની વિરુદ્ધ વર્તવું નહિ.

લખ્યું, મેહર માસને ૧૭ મે દિવસે ઇલાહી વરસ છઠ્ઠામાં. (રવીવાર, ૨૬ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૬૩૩, વિક્રમ સંવત ૧૬૯૦).



ઈશ્વર મહેટે છે

અબુલ મુઅજ્જરુદ્દીન શાહજહાન બાદશાહનું ફરમાન

હાલમાં એક સુખપ્રદ અને મહાન ફરમાન એવું બહાર પાડવામાં આવ્યું છે કે મહાવન પરગણાનું ગોકુળ ગામ જૂના વખતથી વિઠ્ઠલરાય ગોસ્વામીનાં ફરજંદોને તેમના ઠાકોરદારના ખરચ માટે કરથી મુક્ત કરી આપવામાં આવ્યું છે, તેથી આ સર્વમાન્ય આજ્ઞા પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવામાં આવે છે કે હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા સર્વે મુદ્દી અમલદારો અને જાગીરદારોએ આ હુકમને આધીન થવું અને સદરહુ ગામ એ ઠાકોરદારના ખરચ માટે તેમની પાસે રહેવા દેવું, અને સદરહુ ગોસ્વામી તથા તેમનાં ફરજંદોને સંબંધે તેમાં કેઇ પણ પ્રકારનો ફેરફાર કરવો નહિ, અને તેમને દરેક જાતના કરવેરા, માથાવેરા, આડની ઉપજના વેરા, મુદ્દી તથા બીજા કર આપવામાંથી મુક્ત અને છૂટા ગણવા, અને તેમની પાસે નવા પરવાના માગવા નહિ કે જેથી એ ગોસ્વામી જે જૂના વખતથી હુમારા ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યના શ્રેય સંબંધે ઈશ્વરપ્રાર્થનામાં મશગૂલ રહેતા આવ્યા છે તે પોતાની સ્થિતિથી સંતોષ પામી હુમારા હુમેશ સુધી ટકે એવા રાજ્યના ભલા માટે ઈશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવામાં કાળ વ્યતીત કરે.

લખ્યું. આબાન માસને ૬ કે દિવસે ઇલાહી વરસ છઠ્ઠામાં (તારીખ ૧૮ મી અક્ટોબર ઈ. સ. ૧૯૩૩. વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૯૯૦)



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તે પવિત્ર (પરવરદેગાર)ના નામથી

શાહજહાન બાદશાહનું ફરમાન

શાહજહાન બાદશાહના શાહઝાદા મહુમ્મદ દ્વારા શિકોહની મહોર હી. સ. ૧૦૫૩ (ધ. સ. ૧૬૪૩)

હાલમાં એવું આલા ફરમાન પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે કે વિકુલરાય તે દામોદર દીક્ષિતના પુત્ર આ ચિર-સ્થાયી રાજ્યનું શ્રેય પ્રાર્થનાર, ગોકુળ કસ્થામાં રહે છે, અને એ જગા સદરહુ શખ્સનું વતન છે; તેથી ત્યાં તેમની મિલકત આવેલી છે તથા ત્યાં તેમની ગાયો રહે છે, (તેથી) હુકમ ફરમાવવામાં આવે છે કે કોઈ પણ વ્યક્તિએ એમને હેરાન કરવા યા રંજાડવા નહિ કે જેથી તેઓ પોતે નિશ્ચિન્ત મને હુમારૂં ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્ય ચિરકાળ ટકે તેને માટે ઇશ્વર પાસે પ્રાર્થના કરવાની ચાહુ રાખે અને તે કાર્યમાં મચ્યા રહે. એ જગાની પાડોશના બદમાશોએ તેમ જ ખીલઓએ એમને એમની મિલકતના સંબંધમાં હેરાન કરવા નહિ કે તકલીફ આપવી નહિ.



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ધશ્વિર મહેટો છે

ધરહાક આઝમખાન શાહજહાનના તાબેદારની મહાર (હી. સ. ૧૦૫૩)

મહાવન પરગણાના હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા દીવાની અમલદારોને માલમ થાય કે નાથા નામના એક શાખસે એવી અરજ ગુજરી કે ગોકુળની દાણામંડી (હાટ)ના તોળાટની મુઠ્ઠી લેવાનો હુક્ક* જો તેને આપવામાં આવે તો દર વરસે સરકારમાં તે રૂા. ૧૭૫ ભરશે. પરંતુ અત્યારસુધી ચાલ્યા આવતા રિવાજ મુજબ એ મંડીને સંબંધે ઉધરાવવામાં આવતાં નાણાં કદિ પણ સરકારી ત્રીજેરીમાં લેવામાં આવ્યાં નથી. તેમ જ એવું પણ કહેવામાં આવેલું કે એવી રીતનો હુક્ક પ્રાપ્ત કરી મજકુર નાથાનો ઇરાદો ત્યાં આગળ એક દુકાન જમાવવાનો છે, અને જો તેમ કરવા દેવામાં આવે તો વેપારીઓની આવજાનું બંધ થઈ જવાનો ડર રહે છે, તથા ત્યાંના વતનીઓ તથા રહેવાસીઓ જેઓ પોતાને જોઈતો દાણો તથા બીજી વસ્તુઓ એ મંડીમાંથી ખરીદે છે તેમને માટે પણ એક હરકતરૂપ થઈ પડે, અને વળી જૂના વખતથી એ મંડી ગોસ્વામી વીઠ્ઠલરાયનાં માણસોના કબજામાં ચાલતી આવેલી છે, તેમ જ ત્યાંથી માલ ખરીદ કરનાર વેપારીઓ તથા બીજા આહુકો પોતાની રાજીખૂશીથી વીઠ્ઠલરાયનાં એ માણસોને જુજ રકમ આપે છે. તેટલા માટે એવો હુકમ કરવામાં આવે છે કે રૈયતના ભલાને ખાતર એ મંડી કદીમના રિવાજ મુજબ ગોસ્વામી વીઠ્ઠલરાયનાં માણસોનાં તાબામાં ચાલુ રાખવામાં આવી છે. માટે અમલદારોએ ધ્યાન રાખવું કે કોઈ પણ બીજા માણસો તેમાં દખલગીરી કરે નહિ, કે જેથી વેપારીઓ નિશ્ચિતપણે આવજાનું કરે અને કોઈ રીતનો નવો રિવાજ દાખલ થાય નહિ, આ બાબતમાં આવો હુકમ થયો છે તે સૌને રોશન થાય.

લખ્યું, મહાન શાખાન માસની ૧૦ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૧૦૫૬ (ઇ. સ. ૧૬૪૬. વિક્રમ સંવત્ ૧૭૦૩).

* ઉત્તર હિન્દુસ્તાનમાં દાણાનું બજાર (હાટ, મંડી: માંડવી) જ્યાં ભરાય છે ત્યાં દાણો વેચનાર પોતે ખરીદનારને દાણો તોળા આપતો નથી, પણ જુદા તોળાટ રાખે છે, તે તોળાટને ખરીદનાર મુઠ્ઠી અનાજ આપે છે. તે મુઠ્ઠી લેવાના હુકમે સંબંધે આ સનક છે.

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ધશ્વિર મહેાટેા છે

શાહજહાનના તાબેદાર મુકરમતખાનની મહેાર

મહાવન પરગણાના હાલના તથા હવે પછી થનારા મુલ્કી અમલદારો તથા દીવાની અધિકારીઓને માલમ થાય કે મજકૂર પરગણામાં આવેલી મોળે ગોકુળની દાણામંડી ગોસ્વામી ગીરધરલાલના તાબામાં આપવામાં આવેલી છે; તેથી જણાવવાનું કે આગલા રિવાજ મુજબ મજકૂર મંડી મજકૂર શખ્સના તાબામાં રહેવા દેવી. એ અધિકારીઓએ એમને એ બાબતમાં કોઈ પણ પ્રકારે હેરાન કરવા યા રંઝડવા નહિ. આટલા માટે એ બાબતમાં આ હુકમ કાઢવામાં આવ્યો છે.

લખ્યું, સફર માસની ૧૦ મી તારીખે બાદશાહને તખ્તનશીન થયાના ૨૦ મા વરસમાં. (રવીવાર તા. ૭ મી માર્ચ ઇ. સ. ૧૬૪૭. વિક્રમ સંવત ૧૭૦૩)



તે દયામય અને કરુણામય (ઇશ્વર)ના નામથી

શાહજહાન બાદશાહ ગાઝીના શાહઝાદા મહમ્મદ દાદાશિકોહની મહેલ

હુમારી કૃપાને માટે દરેક રીતે લાયક તથા અનુગ્રહને માટે સંપૂર્ણ રીતે યોગ્ય, એવા મુકરમત ખાનને માલમ થાય કે ગોકુળ અને ગોપાળપુરના રહીશ, દામોદરના પુત્ર વીકુલરાય જે કે હુમારા ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યના શ્રેયને અર્થે હુમેશા ઇશ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરે છે તેમણે હાલમાં (હુમને) મહાન શહેનશાહને અરજ ગુજારી રાજ્યના સ્થંભ (મુકરમતખાન) તરફથી જે જે એમના શ્રેયને અર્થે કરવામાં આવ્યું તે તે જણાવ્યું. (એ અરજ સાંભળ્યા બાદ) તેમને રીતસર અત્રેથી વિદાય થવાની રજા આપવામાં આવી છે, અને તેથી તેઓ પોતાને વતન પાછા ફરે છે. તેટલા માટે આ મહાન હુકમ કાઢવામાં આવે છે કે રાજ્યના સ્થંભ પાસે તેઓ પોતાના કાંઈ પણ કાર્ય માટે વિનતી કરે તો આ હુકમ મુજબ અને તેટલું તેમનું ભલું કરી આપવાની પોતે કોશેશ કરવી અને હુકમની વિરુદ્ધ કોઈને વર્તવા દેવું નહિ, તેમ જ એમને કે એમના ભાઈઓને કોઈ પણ પ્રકારે હેરાન કરવા નહિ, કે જેથી પોતાના વતનમાં પોતે આબાદ થઈ આ ચિરસ્થાયી રાજ્યની આબાદી માટે ઇશ્વરની પ્રાર્થના કરતા રહે.

લખ્યું, પહેલા જમાદી મહીનાની ૨૭ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૧૦૫૭ (ઇ. સ. ૧૬૪૭ વિક્રમ સંવત ૧૭૦૪).



બુલંદ ઇફત્તાલશાહ મહમ્મદદારા શિકોહ શાહજહાન બાદશાહ ગાઝીના શાહઝાદાનું ફરમાન

શહેનશાહની મહેરબાનીના બાહેશમંદ, હાલના અને ભવિષ્યના ઓડ પરગણાના મુલ્કી અમલદારોને ઓઢેર થાય કે આલી શહેનશાહની પાસે અરજ ગુજરવામાં આવી છે કે ગોરધન નામનું દેવાલય કે જે મોજે ગોપાળ-પુરમાં આવેલું છે, તેના તાબાની ગાયો મજકુર પરગણાનાં ગામ બછગાંવ અલચ્છાની જમીન (સીમ)માં ચરવા ભય છે, અને તેથી આ શહેનશાહી ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે, (કે) એ દેવાલયના તાબાની ગમે તેટલી ગાયો તે જગાએ ચરવા ભય તો ચરાઈનો કર લેવાને જહાને કોઈએ તેમને (ચરતાં) અટકાવવી નહિ અને એ બાબતમાં કશો લોભ કે આશા રાખવાં નહિ. આ બાબતમાં આને ખરેખરે હુકમ સમજવો.

લખ્યું, જમાદી બીજા મહીનાની આઠમી તારીખે શહેનશાહના ગાદીએ આવ્યા ને ૩૨ મે વરસે (બુધવાર ૧૩ મી માર્ચ ઇ. સ. ૧૬૫૮).



તે દયામય અને કરુણામય (ધધિર)ના નામથી

શાહજહાનના ફરમાનની મહાર

દારા શિકોહની મહાર

શહેનશાહની મહેરબાનીની ઉમેદ રાખનારા, હાલ તથા હવે પછી થનારા, મહાવન પરગણાના દિવાની અમલદારોને માલમ થાય કે આલા દરબજાના શહેનશાહ પાસે અરજ ગુજરવામાં આવી છે કે તેમના મહાન ફરમાન મુજબ મજદૂર પરગણામાં આવેલું ગોકુળ ગામ સેવક ગીરધરને ગોકુળનાથના ઠાકોરદ્વારના ખરચને માટે આપી દેવામાં આવેલું અને મજદૂર ગીરધરના ગુજરવા બાદ તેના વારસોના કબજા ભોગવટામાં તે ચાલુ છે; તે આ મહાન ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવે છે કે જેને તાબે થવું જોઈએ એવાં (આગલાં) ફરમાનોની રૂચે અને અત્યાર સુધી ચાલતા આવેલા રિવાજ મુજબ તે ગામ વિકુલરાયના સુત ગીરધર તથા સ્વર્ગસ્થના નથીરા તથા બીજા વારસોના તાબામાં રહેવા દેવું અને જે જે કરવેરામાંથી તેમને મુક્ત કર્યા છે તે તે કરવેરા તેમની પાસથી માગી તેમને હેરાન કરવા કે રંજાડવા નહિ.

લખ્યું, રજબ મહીનાની ૨૭ મી તારીખે હી. સ. ૧૦૬૮ (ઇ. સ. ૧૬૫૮ વિક્રમ સંવત ૧૭૧૪.)

તે પવિત્ર અને મહાન ઈશ્વરના નામથી

અબુલ મુઝફ્ફર જલાલુદ્દીન મહમ્મદ શાહ આલમ બાદશાહ ગાઝીની મહોર હી. સ. ૧૧૬૪.

આ સુખના સમયમાં આ ઉચ્ચ અને દબદબા ભરેલું ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે કે, ખિલાફતના સ્થાન અકબરાબાદના સુબામાં આવેલા ઇસ્લામાબાદના સરકારમાં મહાવન પરગણાનું ગામ મોજે રસાલપુર ઉર્ફે ગોકુળ તીમગા* ઇનામ તરીકે, ધાર્મિક સત્યોથી જ્ઞાત, અને સત્ય જ્ઞાનથી અંકિત એવા ગોસ્વામી મોરલીધર તથા તેનાં ફરજદોને કરવેરાથી મુક્ત કરી આપવામાં આવ્યું છે. તેનાં સંબંધમાં તાલીકેના† મજકૂર મુજબ યુસફાનઇલી‡ પાનખર રૂતુથી એક એવો તુમાર બહાર પાડવામાં આવે છે કે હમારા નામાંકિત અને વિશ્વાસુ શાહઝાદાઓ, સત્તાવાન હિસાબી ખાતાના વજીરો, ઉચ્ચ ઉમરાવો, આબરૂદાર હાકેમો, સુખી મુલ્કી અમલદારો, રાજ્યના દીવાની અધિકારીઓ, શહેનશાહી કારોબારના ઓફિસરો, જાગીરદારો અને કરોડીઓ, હાલના તથા ભવિષ્યના, એમણે આ ફરમાન મુજબ યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરૌ વર્તવા પ્રયત્ન કરવો અને મજકૂર ગામ તેમના વંશવારસોના કબજા ભોગવટામાં રહેવા દેવું. તેમાં કેાઈ રીતનો ફેરફાર કરવો નહિ. સ્થાનિક કે શહેનશાહી સઘળા પ્રકારના કરવેરામાંથી તેને મુક્ત ગણવું. તેમની પાસે પેશકશ, જમીનનો કે કારખાનાપરનો કર, માથાવેરો, કરવેરા ઉધરાવનારનો વેરો, દારોગાદી, શિકારની વેઠ, બેગાર (મજૂર તરીકેની વેઠ), મુકાદમી, કાનુનગોઈ વગેરેની માંગણી કરી તેમને હિરાન કરવા કે રંબડવા

* યાવચ્ચંદ્રદિવાકરૌ ભોગવાય તેવી જાગીર: કરવેરાથી મુક્ત વેચી શકાય અને વારસોને હતરે તેવી. † શહેનશાહે મંજૂર કરેલો ફરમાનનો ખરડો. ‡ તુર્કી રીત પ્રમાણે ગણાતા બાર મહીનામાંનો એક મહીનાનું નામ.

નહિ. તેમની પાસે દર વરસે નવી સનદ માગવી નહિ. આ હુકમને તેમણે ખરેખરે સખત હુકમ ગણવો. આ શહેનશાહી ફરમાનની વિરુદ્ધ તેમણે વર્તવું નહિ.

લખ્યું, બીજા જમાદી મહીનાની ૧૫ મી તારીખે હમારા તખ્તનશીન થયા ના ૧૩ મા વરસમાં (તારીખ ૨૫ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ઈ. સ. ૧૭૭૧).



૧૫

જેવી રીતે આગલું ફરમાન શાહઆલમ બાદશાહે ગોકુળગામની જાગીર માટે આપ્યું છે તેવું આ ફરમાને ગોપાળપુર ગામ માટે છે. એની ભાષા માત્ર ગામના નામ સિવાય અક્ષરશઃ આગલા ફરમાનની ભાષાને મળતી આવે છે.



બક્ષી ઉત્તમુદ્ક નજરુ ઝુલકિંકાર ઉદ્દૌલા મીરજા બેગં ખાન બહાદૂર ગાલેખ બાદશાહ શાહ આલમ
ગાઝીના તાબેદારની મહેર

શહેનશાહી સ્થાન અકબરાબાદના સુબામાં આવેલા મહાવન તાલુકાના કસબા ગોકુળના ચોધરીઓ, કાનુનગો, અમલદારો, ખેડુતો, ગણોતીઆ, અને મુલકી અમલદારોને માલમ થાય કે મોજે શ્રી ગોકુળ તથા મુબારક-પુર અને તેને લગતી જમીનો વગેરે કદીમ વખતથી એ કસબાના દફતરના મજદૂર મુજબ ગોસ્વામી મોરલીધરને નામે કરી આપવામાં આવેલી છે, અને તે મજદૂર શખ્સના કબજા ભોગવટામાં ચાલુ રહેલી છે. આ સખખથી એમને સરકારી કરવેરા ભરવાની જવાબદારીમાંથી મુક્ત કરવામાં આવેલા છે, અને તે મુજબ કરવેરાથી તેઓ મુક્ત રહેલા છે; તેથી તમારી એ ફરજ છે કે તમારે મજદૂર ગામો કદીમ રિવાજ મુજબ મજદૂર શખ્સના કબજા ભોગવટામાં તેમની મિલકત તથા વારસામાં મળેલી મિલકત તરીકે રહેવા દેવાં, અને ચંદા, ઇનામ, ઘાટની ફી લેવાનો તેમનો હક્ક છે એમ આગળથી નક્કી થયેલું છે તે મુજબ તેમને લેવાદેવાં. તેમને કોઈ રીતે હિરાન કરવા યા રંજાડવા નહિ. વળી હુકમ મુજબ કર વેરા તથા માલ ગુઝારી વસૂલ કર્યા બાદ, તેમાંથી દર વરસે અને દર ઋતુએ તેમના હક્ક મુજબનો ભાગ તેમને આપી દેવો. આ હુકમને તેમણે સખત હુકમ ગણી તે મુજબ વર્તવું.

લખ્યું, શબ્વાલ મહીનાની ૧૫ મી તારીખે શહેનશાહની તખ્તનશીનીના ૧૫ મા વરસમાં (તારીખ ૩૦ મી ડીસેમ્બર ઇ. સ. ૧૭૭૩).



લોઈ લેકનું ફરમાન

વૃજની ભુમિ, એટલે મથુરા, એ હિંદુઓની જાત્રાનું પવિત્ર ધામ છે, તેથી તે ભુમિમાં ગાયને કોઈ પણ તરફથી કોઈ રીતની ઇજા કે હરકત થાય તે યોગ્ય કહેવાય નહિ, તેથી ફતેહજંગ સેનાધિપતિ જનરલ જિરાઉ લોઈ લેક સાહેબ, જેઓના સ્વભાવમાં દયા અને કલ્યાણ વૃત્તિ વાસો કરે છે અને જે ઇશ્વરના વિશ્વસનીય સેવક છે, તેઓ એવો હુકમ કરે છે કે કસાઈનો ધંધો કરનાર યા કોઈ પણ અન્ય માણસ, પછી તે મથુરાનો વતની હોય, કે લશ્કરી સિપાઈ હોય, કે મથુરાની આસપાસ રહી શહેરમાં આવજાવ કરતો હોય, તેણે ગાયનો વધ કરવો નહિ. આ સબબથી એવું ફરમાન કાઢવામાં આવ્યું છે કે ઉપલી હુદમાં કોઈએ ગૌવધ કરવો નહિ. જો આ હુકમનો કોઈ અનાદર કરશે તો તેના પર કાયદેસર કામ ચલાવવામાં આવશે અને તેના તરફનું કોઈ પણ જાતનું બહાનું સાંભળવામાં આવશે નહિ. લખ્યું, તારીખ ૩ જુલાઈ ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૫.



S'RI VITTHALES'VARA AND HIS VIDVANMANDANA.

Śri Vitthaleśvara Deekshita, the author of the *Vidvanmaṇḍana* was the second son of Śri Vallabhāchārya. He was born at Charaṇāta near Allahabad on the 9th day of the dark half of Margaśīrsha, 1572, Samvat. Vallabhāchārya in his later life adopted Adel as his permanent residence, and therefore Vitthaleśvara passed his childhood there. When Vallabhāchārya took up Tridanda-Sannyāsa in 1587, Vitthaleśvara was a boy, fifteen years old. His elder brother Sri Gopīnātha was senior to him by five years. His Upanayana ceremony was performed by Vallabhāchārya, but his early education seems to have been of a desultory character. A Gāthā current in Sampradāya states that Vitthaleśvara in his childhood was given to playfulness. He did not seem to realise the heavy responsibility that lay on his shoulders, so Damodaradasa, the chief among Vaishṇavas, is said to have remonstrated with young Vitthaleśvara and persuaded him to study, and thus be fit to bear the responsibility as the worthy son of a worthy father. There is no doubt that Damodaradasa had his share in turning Vitthaleśvara from worldly playfulness to the meditation of Kṛishṇa-Leelā. Chāchā Harivamśaji was another personality who influenced Vitthaleśvara in the successful discharge of his duties as Achārya. Chāchā Harivamśaji's proselytizing tendencies were great. It was he who generally visited a place in advance and prepared it for the acceptance of Vitthaleśvara's teachings. It is not known from whom Vitthaleśvara got direct help in the profound learning which is manifest in his works which are available now. A Gāthā says that Vitthaleśvara was sent by Vallabhāchārya to Madhava Sarasvati for his studies, but instead of studying anything as his place, he devoted his time to reading Śrīmad Bhāgavata. Whatever may be the truth in the above Gāthā, it is an undisputed fact that like his father, Vitthaleśvara had a very great hold on and absorbing attachment to Śrīmad Bhāgavata. After Vallabhāchārya passed away in 1587, Gopīnātha and Vitthaleśvara lived together at Adel. Except perhaps to small works named *Sādhana-dīpaka* and *Sevāpaddhati*, we are not aware of any important work of Śri Gopīnātha, and so we have not got materials to decide how far Vitthaleśvara was indebted to his elder brother Śri Gopīnātha, for his future literary activities. Śri Gopīnātha and his son Purushottama seem to have passed away between 1590 and 1600. After this Vitthaleśvara became the recognised representative of his father, and thereafter he seems to have planned various tours, and thought of writing works for the propagation of the Sampradāya.

Unlike Śankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Chaitanya, and a host of others, Vallabhāchārya preferred to follow the *Aupanishada* traditions, and like Yājñyavalkya and others, became a Grihastha Ācharya. After him, his elder son too, became a Grihastha Ācharya. Śrī Gopīnātha got Vitthaleśvara married to Śrī Rukminī, a daughter of Viśvanātha Bhatta and Bhawani of his own caste. The relations of the two brothers were of a very cordial nature. A letter* addressed by Vitthaleśvara to his elder brother reveals the high regard which he had for him.

When Gopīnātha and his son Purushottama passed away, Vitthaleśvara seems to have begun his tours. His first visit was from Adel to Gujarat in the year 1600, and his second visit to Gujarat was also from Adel in 1613. In Gujarat his activities were chiefly confined to Ahmedabad, Cambay and Godhra. In Godhra, one Nagaji Bhatta was initiated in the Sampradaya by him. This Nagaji Bhatta was, it is said, a state-officer, and the name Pancha Mahals owes its origin to his activities. He was a Sāthodra Brahmin. Mr. Keśhavalāl Harshadraya Dhruva, the veteran Gujarati scholar, is said to be a descendant of this Nāgaji Bhatta. Whenever Vitthaleśvara visited Gujarat, Nāgaji Bhatta always took advantage of his company. A few of the original letters addressed by Vitthaleśvara to Nāgaji Bhatta are preserved even to this day at Nāthadwara in Mewar. Nāgaji Bhatta seems to have been a very intelligent follower. Various questions seem to have been put by him to Vitthaleśvara. He seems to have been a very active agent in spreading the doctrines of Vallabhāchārya in his country. After having read *Subodhini Nibandha* etc, he wanted to know as to what was the kernel of Vallabhāchārya's teachings. In answer to this query, Vitthaleśvara sent to him a beautiful couplet which summarises the doctrine in the choicest words. It runs as follows:—

श्रीवल्लभाचार्यमते फलं तत्प्राक्कल्पमत्राव्यभिचारिहेतुः ।
प्रेमैव तस्मिन्नवधोक्तभक्तिस्तत्रोपयोगोऽखिलसाधनानाम् ॥

* The letter runs as follows:—

स्वस्ति श्रीमज्ज्येष्ठभ्रातृचरणकमलेषु यवीयसो विठ्ठलस्य प्रणामकोटिनिवेदकोयं पत्रदूतः । शमिह, भावत्कमाशासे । अहं भगवदाज्ञया रासोत्सवपर्यन्तं श्रीगोवर्धन-
धरणचरणारविन्दनिकटं स्थितोऽस्मि । हरिद्वारं प्रत्याज्ञा न जातेति न गतम् । अत्र ममास्वास्थ्यं बहु जातमासीत् । उपवासदशकं कृतम् । अधुना भगवत्कृपया च नैरुज्यं जातमस्ति ।
कापि चिन्ता न कार्या । अक्का—अम्मा—अत्ताचरणेषु नतयः । अक्का यथा दुःखं न करोति ममास्वास्थ्यं क्षुत्वा तादृक् कर्तव्यम् । भवतापि कापि चिन्ता न कार्या मम, भगवति
सर्वत्र । यादवेन्द्रपुरीषु ब्रह्मानन्देषु दीक्षितेषु हरिहरनागनाथचूडादिषु नमस्काराः । विष्णुदासादिष्वाशिषः । अत्रत्यवैष्णवानां नतयः ।

According to the view of Vallabhāchārya, भगवत्प्राकट्य is the फल, and the unfailing remedy for it is love for him, while all other Sādhana's are useful in generating this love. Nāgaji Bhatta remained in company of Vitthaleśvara not only in Gujarat, but he often visited Adel to pay his respects to him. He is said also to have visited the shrine of Śrī Nāthaji-Govardhanadhara—at Jatipura on the Govardhana Hill, and stayed there for a couple of months. Thus it would seem that Nāgaji Bhatta was familiar both with the practice and theory of the Sampradāya, and he was instrumental in the rapid spread of the Sampradāya from Samvat 1600 onwards in Gujarat.

Another personality who helped in the spread of Sampradāya was Bhāila Kothari of Aśarva near Ahmedabad. When Vitthaleśvara visited Dwarka or Gujarat, he used to put up with him for a couple of months. Bhāila's son-in-law Gopaladasa has given the Sampradāya a charming and unique poem in Navākhyana. The Sampradāyika Gāthā relates that this Gopaladasa was Narsinha Mehta in his preceding birth. Whatever that may be, it helps one in furnishing the latest date of Narsinha Mehta. Vitthaleśvara's first visit to Gujarat was in 1600 St, and Gopaladasa was then nine years old. The poem of Gopaladasa (Navā Khyāna) has been the most popular and revered among Vaishṇavas. Every Vaishṇava, male and female, recites it. Commentaries in Sanskrit and Vraja Bhasha are written on it. The commercial people of Gujarat have been fascinated by it. This poem, it seems, has been instrumental in shaping Vaishṇava attitude towards the Mahārājas. The intensely tender feelings with which the Mahārājas are looked upon have their genesis in the spread of this lyric. It speaks of Vitthaleśvara as Goswāmiji. He assumed the surname of Goswāmi in 1634, after he was granted permission by Emperor Akabar to graze his cattle on all lands including the Royal ones. From this it would seem that this poem of Gopaladasa could not have been composed before 1634. The Sāmpradāyika Gāthā informs us that the inspiration of this poem came to Gopaladasa from Vitthaleśvara himself. It is said that Gopaladasa who was dumb, miraculously got his powers of speech as a result of the chewing of the betelleaf offered by Vitthaleśvara. When he visited Bhāilā's house, numerous persons came to see him and joined his Sāmpradāya.

In Cambay, Jivā Parekh, a celebrated Bania merchant was instrumental in the early spread of Vaishṇavism. On the whole the spread of Vaishṇavism in Gujarat was not only rapid but complete. Numerous castes and sub-castes wholly embraced the Vaishṇava Cult. This continued in increasing proportions during the times of the succeeding generations of Vitthaleśvara.

Vitthaleśvara himself visited Gujarat not less than six times. His first visit was in 1600 from Adel. The second one was also from Adel in 1613. The third one was from Gaḍā in 1619. The fourth one was from Mathurā in 1623. The fifth one was in 1631 from Gokula. And his sixth and last visit was also from Gokula in 1638. This would show that for nearly forty years Vitthaleśvara exercised his influence over Gujarat and Kathiāwād. The visits to Gujarāt were incidental to his visit to the shrine of Dwārakānāthaji at Dwārkā. His desire for and interest in Dwārakā and Gujarāt were created by the early reception of his father and his elder brother Śrī Gopīnātha. Rānā Vyāsa, a learned pupil of Vallabhāchārya, was an active worker at Siddhapura. So also there was one Gopāladāsa of Naroda. Vallabhāchārya himself had visited Dwārakā not less than three times, his last visit being in 1585. He is said to have stayed at Dwārakā for over six months. The Swarūpa of Dwārkānāthaji at Bet-Dwārkā was installed there by Vallabhāchārya.

In the year 1616 Māhā Vad 13th Vitthaleśvara visited the shrine of Jagannātha in Puri (Orissa). He was there accompanied by his wife Rukmiṇī, his eldest daughter Śobhāji and his eldest son Giridharaji. He stayed there for nearly six months. After witnessing the Rathotsava at Puri, he seems to have returned to Adel. During his visit to Puri he had taken with him a carpenter by name Rāsā. This was with a view to see the model of the Jagannātha Car. It is said that when Vitthaleśvara returned to Adel, he got a car prepared of a similar model, and took his deity round the village of Adel in a procession. During his stay at Gaḍā also he celebrated a Rathotsava similarly. But when he shifted his abode to Mathurā he had to give up the public celebration of Rathotsava on account of the Mahomedan fanaticism. During his stay in Jagannātha, Vitthaleśvara came in contact with the immediate followers of Chitanya, living there. It is possible that the composition of Swaminyashtaka (स्वामिन्यष्टक) Swaministotra (स्वामिनीस्तोत्र) and several other minor stotrās, in which the Eternal consort—Rādhā—of Sree Krishna is extolled, date from this period; or their composition may be due to the direct or indirect influences of Chaitanya saints. There is no stotra or writing of Vallabhāchārya to our knowledge where Rādhā is extolled in the strain in which Vittaleśvara has done. How far and how much of this influence was retained by Vitthaleśvara is difficult for us to determine from the materials available, though the conclusion of the Anu Bhāshya where Navanīta-priya (नवनीतप्रिय) and Govardhanadhara (गोवर्धनधर) only are remembered would show that Vitthaleśvara in later times had completely freed himself from the Chaitanya influences. His commentary on Krishnapremāmrita (कृष्णप्रेमामृत) and Śringārarasamandana (शृङ्गाररसमण्डन) may be due to Chaitanya mould of thought.

Or that was the time when the wave of Radha-Krishna worship swept over the whole of India and it would be difficult to say exactly how far the influence of Chaitnya thought is there in the above Stotra. The originality of thought and method of expression are Vitthaleśvara's own. But we would not be wrong if the composition of the above Stotras was assigned to this period. It is possible that these Stotras are due to Sarasvati Samvāda and nothing else.

After his return in Samvat 1616 Ashadh to the beginning of 1619 Vitthaleśvara seems to have resided at Adel. On the analogy of Jagannatha, car-festival was celebrated here. It was during this period, that he composed his Vidvan-maṇḍana. A manuscript dating from वैशाख शु. १२ सं 1619 leads us to this inference. In any case we cannot assign any later date than this to the composition. In 1619 it appears that Mahomedan invasion made Vitthaleśvara give up his abode at Adel for good.

From Adel, after his stay at two or three places, he seems to have moved over to the kingdom of Bandhe Gadh. Ramchandra, a Waghela Rajput, was the king of the place. He seems to have received Vitthaleśvara well, who stayed at this place for a couple of months. The relations of Giridharaji the eldest son of Vitthaleśvara were very cordial with this prince. The eldest son of Giridharaji by name Muralidharaji was born here on Vijaya Daśami day. Tansen the famous minstrel was formerly a musician of king Ramachandra, but he had to hand him over to Emperor Akbar. This Tansen seems to have come into contact with Vitthaleśvara here. But Vitthaleśvara did not stay here long. In later days when Vitthaleśvara adopted Gokula as his permanent residence, this king Ramachandra visited Gokula. He was well received by Vitthaleśvara and Giridharaji then.

From Banthegadh, Vitthaleśvara seems to have moved over to Gaḍa. It is difficult to say whether the modern Jubbulpore on the banks of the Narbada was Gaḍa of those times. Vitthaleśvara's Bethak near Jubbulpore would go to show that Gaḍa was situated somewhere there. The havoc wrought by Akbar's general Asafkhan is so complete that it has become difficult to identify the place. Vitthaleśvara's desire to go to Gadhā was natural. Gadhā was ruled over by queen Durgavati. She was a princess of great reputation. She was married to Dalpatishāh in a very romantic manner and out of this union a son was born. When he was three years old, Dalpatishāh died. Since then Rani Durgāvati was the *de facto* ruler of Gadha acting as Regent for her son Vīra Narayana. Even after he was of age she continued to rule over the kingdom. Fifty-two Gadhas (fortresses) were included in her kingdom. She fought many battles, and on

account of her exceptional valour she was called Durgashah. She was very religious and patronised numerous learned Brahmins. Some of the Telugu Brahmin families who were connected with Vitthaleśvara's family by marital ties lived there. Besides, next to Vijayanagara, the only independent Hindu kingdom where Vallabhāchārya was recognised as the greatest Achārya by the then ruling king Krishnadeva, this princess Durgāvati was the only independent Hindu princess in whose kingdom Brahmins were encouraged and people were extremely happy. Her government was a faultless one and Akbar's attack on this princess is considered by competent historians to be nothing more than wanton destruction for self-aggrandizement. When Vitthaleśvara came to her Capital first of all, he put up on the banks of Jamniya-talao or the Rani-talao. Durgāvati was so much impressed with his saintly character, high learning and sublime devotion to Krishṇa that she visited his Aśrama frequently and requested him to accept Gaḍhā as his permanent residence. Suitable arrangements were made for his stay. During his three years' stay the relations between him and the Queen were very cordial. Vitthaleśvara's first wife Rukmini passed away about this time, and he had absolutely no desire to marry again. But under the pressure of Rani Durgāvati Vitthaleśvara had to marry Padmavati daughter of Krishnaraya Bhatta on Akshaya-Tṛitīyā day of 1620. On another occasion Durgavati gave a gift of 108 villages to Vitthaleśvara which were in their turn gifted away by him to Bhaṭtas, his caste people, who were living there and whose descendants to this day are in the enjoyment of the same. During his stay at Gaḍhā, a Brahmin by name Brahmadasa came in his contract. He was blessed by Vitthaleśvara by giving him his own waist-cost. From this day the fortunes of this Brahma-dāsa began to rise and ultimately he became one of the trusted advisers of Emperor Akbar under the now well-known name of Birbal (बिर्बल). This Birbal's relations with Giridharaji were very intimate, as could be gathered from the letters of Vitthaleśvara. He seems to have helped Vitthaleśvara a great deal when the possession and control of the shrine of Shree Nāthaji on the Govardhana Hill were taken over by Vitthaleśvara some time later from the Bengālī worshippers.

After his stay for about three years, Vitthaleśvara perhaps noticed that even this kingdom of Durgavati would ultimately be invaded by Akbar's armies. In samvat 1621 (1564 A. D.) a pretext was found out by Asafkhan by demanding from her, her favourite elephant Gurudār. She naturally refused to comply with the demand. The attack of Asafkhan is the more glaring because Durgavati's prime minister Adhāradasa was deputed by her to the court of Akbar. This seems to have influenced Vitthaleśvara in giving up his residence at Gaḍhā. He therefore expressed his desire to Rani Durgāvati that he wanted to go and reside on the banks of the Yamuna (Jamna). To meet Vitthaleś-

vara's desire Rani Durgāvati caused to be built at Mathura the Seven Houses which became ultimately known as 'Sat-garā'. Vitthaleśvara and his seven sons lived at Mathura in this Satgarā. It was in these Satgarās that for about two months or so Śree Nāthaji was brought on Falgun Krishna 7, 1623 from the Govardhana Hill by Giridharaji when Vitthaleśvara was on his visit to Gujarat. These seven houses do not exist now, but the place on which they stood is to this day known as Sat-garā at Mathurā. It is situated behind Chhattā Buzaar on the west, and the pilgrims for Parikrama start from this place. At Gaḍhā, Vitthaleśvara had very pleasant times. He celebrated the Rathotsava festival. The car was taken in a big procession round the capital in which Rāni Durgavati took part with all the nobles of her court. In fact all the resources of the state requisitioned for the celebration of the Rathotsava.

When Vitthaleśvara left Gaḍhā, Rani Durgavati sent her minister Adhardāsa, to accompany him with a large escort.

After he left Gaḍhā Vitthaleśvara does not seem to have been visited by Rani Durgavati. She lost her life while fighting valiantly with Asafkhan, and her son Veeranārayana also seems to have met with a similar fate. The rich treasures of the Royal treasury were looted by Asafkhan, and were carried away by him. The ravage done was so complete that no definite marks of this illustrious princess's kingdom could now be traced by historians. The traces of Vitthaleśvara's stay in Gaḍhā are for unately preserved by his Bethak, near Jubbulpore which is said to be the place where his second marriage with Padmāvati was celebrated as mentioned above.

From Gaḍhā,* Vitthaleśvara seems to have migrated to Prayāga (Allahābād). Here he stayed for some time in great happiness. He engaged himself in the worship of Krishna and the performance of Somayāga.

* गढायां पूर्वमवसन् विठ्ठलेश्वरदीक्षिताः । तेषां प्रयागमाजगमुस्तत्रोपद्रवसंभवे ॥
यमुनातीरमाश्रित्य तत्र वासं प्रचक्रिरे । श्रीकृष्णसेवानिरताः सोमयागविधायिनः ॥
बहून्संवत्सरांस्तत्र न्यवसन्परया मुदा ॥ अथ तेषां व्रजे वासं कर्तुमिच्छामवत् किल ।
गोवर्धनो गिरिर्यत्र श्रीमद्वृन्दावनं तथा । मथुरापि हरिर्यत्र नित्यं संनिहितो विभुः ।
तत आगत्य मथुरां कुटुम्बसहिता इह । कंचित् कालं मुदावात्सुर्यमुनाहरिसेविनः ॥
वंशावली मधुसूदनभट्टकृता. (1717 Samvat)

From Prayāga Vitthaleśvara seems to have migrated to Gokula on भाद्रपदकृष्ण 3, 1622. Here he resided in a place where his father and his elder brother used to reside during their visits in Chāturamāsa. Vitthaleśvara is said to have stayed in Gokula for about 84 days. Then on कार्तिकशुक्ल 11, 1623 he seems to have removed to Mathurā. He lived in Sat-gara built by Rani Durgavati. From 1623 to 1629 Vitthaleśvara passed his time in Mathurā. In 1623 when he visited Gñjarat, the image of Sree Nāthaji was brought by Giridharaji from the Govardhana Hill to his house and was installed in his house in Sat-gara. The image continued to be worshipped for about two months and 21 days in Vithaleśvara's house in Mathura. Vitthaleśvara did not approve perhaps of this on account of the irksome preponderance of Mahomedan influence. After his visit to Mathura Vithaleśvara gave up the public celebration of the Rathotsava festival for the same reason. Vitthaleśvara seems to have preferred the place of Govardhana Hill selected by his father. And by the time he reached Mathurā, from his visit to Gujarāt in 1623, the image of Śri Nāthaji was again taken over to Girirāja and again installed therein on the 14th day of the bright half of वैशाख, सं. 1624. Vitthaleśvara some-how preferred the quiet place of Gokula to the city life of Mathurā and in the year 1629 Falguna Krishna 7 he adopted Gokula as his permanent residence.

मथुरानगरे विलोक्य वासं यवनादिप्रसरेण भूरिबाधम् ।

अथ विठ्ठलदीक्षिता विविक्तं स्थलमात्मस्थितये व्यचारयंस्ते ॥ १ ॥

कदाचित्तेमहेन्द्रेण परमात्मविनिर्णये । पृष्ठास्तदीयसन्देहानपाकुर्वन् सदुक्तिभिः ॥ २ ॥

प्रसन्नेनाथ तेनोक्ताः किमपि प्रार्थयतामितः । तस्याग्रहमयालोक्य हृदि सम्यग्विचार्य च ॥ ३ ॥

आत्मनः सुखवासार्थं महावनसमीपतः । यमुनातीरमाश्रित्य स्थलं रम्यमयाचिवुः ॥ ४ ॥

अथ स्वाधिकृतैर्भूमैः पत्रं संलेख्य भूपतिः । स्वनाममुद्रासहितं दीक्षितेभ्यस्तदार्पयत् ॥ ५ ॥

ततो मौहूर्तिकादिष्टे मुद्रितं विधिपूर्वकम् । ग्रामं गोकुलनामानं स्थले तत्र न्यवासयन् ॥ ६ ॥

अब्देऽष्टनेत्राङ्गीमहीप्रमाणे (१६२८) तपस्यमासस्य तमिस्रपक्षे ।

दिने ७ दिनेशस्य शुभे मुद्रितं श्रीगोकुलग्रामनिवास आसीत् ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तान्तमिममाकर्ण्य सजातीया द्विजोत्तमाः । कुटुम्बसहितास्तत्र वासार्थं समुपागमन् ॥ ८ ॥

भ्रातृणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्च बहवस्ततः । स्वं स्वं कुटुम्बमादाय निवासोत्काः समाययुः ॥ ९ ॥

समागतैभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः निवासाय यथायथम् । स्थानानि दापयामासुर्विठ्ठलेष्वरदीक्षिताः ॥ १० ॥

(वंशावली—मधुसूदनभट्टकृता)

From the year 1628 upto his passing away in 1642 Vitthaleśvara resided at Gokula and carried on his literary and other religious activities. Emperor Akbar took delight in discussion of questions relating to the world beyond. He is said to have paid a visit to Goswāmis of Prindāwan by this time. Vitthaleśvara Dikshīta was invited by Emperor Akbar for the elucidation of the nature of the Supreme Being. Akbar was much pleased with his explanations, and he requested him to ask for a gift. Vitthaleśvara asked the Emperor to give him Gokula, which being a quiet place was congenial to his tastes and requirements, being situated on the banks of the river Yamunā near Mabā Vana. Thereupon Emperor Akbar made a grant to him of Gokula under his Royal Seal and handed over the Firman to Vitthaleśvara in the year samvat 1634 corresponding with 29th of Jamādi the 2nd, A. H. 985 (1577 A. D.). Vitthaleśvara was the recipient of three other Firmans granting him the privilege of grazing his cattle on all lands including Khālsā or Jāgir. Another Firmān was granted to him by Hamidah Bānu Begum, mother of Emperor Akbar. He was also the recipient of the grant of the Jatipurā village where the Shrine of Govardhanadhara was situated. During his stay at Gokula he visited Gujarāt twice, once in the year 1631, and then in 1639. It was perhaps during this last visit that Gopaladasa, the author of Navākhyāna, came into his contact and wrote his beautiful poem describing in the last chapter the whole family of Vitthaleśvara. This last chapter mentions seven sons of Vitthaleśvara and their wives. It does not mention the names of either of the wives of Vitthaleśvara. The inference is that this poem is written after Vitthaleśvara's both wives had passed away and his youngest son Ghanaśyāma, if not actually married, was betrothed to Krishnāvatī. All his four daughters were married, and the two widowed daughters of his elder brother Gopinātha, Lakshmi and Satyabhāma were residing with him, and passed their widowhood in complete happiness in the service of Śree Navanītapriya.

Thus from the year 1629 to 1642 Vitthaleśvara lived at Gokula in complete tranquility. During his stay there, he carried on and perfected the mode of worship (Sevā-Prakāra), both at Govardhandhara's temple at Jatipurā and in Navanītapriya's temple at Gokula. Poet Gopāladāsa describes beautifully how Vitthaleśvara daily went on horseback from Gokula to Govardhana. 'तुरग चाल्यो वायुवेगे उतावळो, जाणे नौका चाली सिन्धु तरवा.' Vitthaleśvara translated his father's teachings into actual practice and turned them into a divine religion. His father mentioned two alternatives in the verse गृहं सर्वात्मना त्याज्यं तच्चेत्यक्तुं न शक्यते । कृष्णार्थं तद्विनियुक्तीत कृष्णोऽनर्थस्य मोक्षकः ॥ (निबन्ध). The first alternative of त्याग (complete renunciation) cannot be translated into practice as an inflexible rule, by each and everyone. Hence Vitthaleśvara accepted the second alternative of अत्याग by which every thing was to be utilised for Krishna, thereby ultimately the goal enun-

ciated in the first alternative of त्याग was to be gradually reached. With this end in view he promulgated an elaborate mode of rituals for the Sevā-mārga. The Sevā-Mārga was based purely on the dictates of the finer sentiments of heart. The result was that the very household of Vitthalesvara became free from the experiences of the miserable surroundings of the worldly life. The mode of worship was carried on in such a way that all the members of his family, young and old, males and females, could take part in the daily worship with such fervour and pleasantness that his house was a sight which gods would envy. The poet Gopāladāsa gives expression to this fact in the following couplets:—

हार कंकण कर्ण भूषण नाद नाना हींङतां । गान गाये स्वर सुहाये श्रीनवनीतप्रियजीने पोदतां ॥
सन्ध्यासमे शृंगार नूतन फूल गुंथे सौ मळी । सदनशोभा निरखतां ते लक्ष्मी मन पास्यां रळी ॥

Emperor Akbar's two ministers Todarmall and Birbal seem to have come into closer contact with him during this time and gave him their help whenever required. The shrine of Śree Nāthajī came into existence under circumstances under which the followers of Vallabhāchārya and those of the Gaud school both worshipped it with equal reverence. Śree Nāthaji or Govardhanadhara was worshipped by the local people as Devadaman (देवदमन). It is alleged that originally this shrine was set up by king Vajra of the Yadava race who was brought to Muttra by Arjuna after the destruction of the Yadava race. The said image which remained under ground was then discovered. When Vallabhāchārya visited Vraja, he installed this image of Govardhanadhara or Śree Nāthaji in the year 1576, अक्षयतृतीया. He appointed Mādhavendra-puri a Tailanga Brahman Sannyāsi of the Mādhva school to carry on worship of Govardhanadhara. This Mādhavendra-puri was a Krishna-worshipper. He was the guru of Ishvarapuri who initiated the Bengal saint Chaitanya into Krishna-worship. Mādhavendra-puri was instrumental in introducing Krishna-worship in Bengal. To carry on the daily worship of Śree Nāthaji was a task difficult for a single individual. Hence he kept some Bengālī Vaishnavas to help him. Rāmdāsa, another saint, was commissioned by Vallabhāchārya to act as first मुख्यप्रचारक. He was a Chauhana Rajput. Krishnadās was appointed as the Adhikāri. Vallabhāchārya and his son Gopinātha used to visit Vraja during the Chātur-māsya of every year, and during their absence they used to carry on the Sevā themselves. After the passing away of Vallabhāchārya and Gopinātha, some disagreement seems to have arisen between the Bengal Vaishnavas and Vāllabha Vaishnavas. So long as Mādhavendra-puri was there, no disagreement seems to have arisen. The image is spoken of as Gopāla and described as such in the works of Chaitanya writers. When

Mādhavendra-puri went to the south to bring Malayāgara chandana (sandal-wood) he passed away there at an advanced age of about 130 years and the Bengal Vaishṇavas used to carry on the worship of Śree Nāthaji under the control and supervision of Krishnadāsa Adhikāri. Gopinatha's visit to Gujarat brought him about a lakh of rupees as Sevā. The same was dedicated by him to Sree Nathaji. Vitthaleśvara's frequent visits to Gujarat attracted its rich people to visit the shrine of Sree Nāthaji and they made rich presents to the Deity. It seems, Bengal Vaishṇavās who used to carry on worship, secretly carried away these presents to their Goswāmis who lived at Brindāvan. This created great dissatisfaction among the Vaishṇavas of Gujarat. One Anantadāsa raised an emphatic protest against this misuse of offerings to the Deity. He persuaded Krishnadāsa Adhikāri to put a stop to this and drive out the said Bengālī worshippers. Krishnadāsa could not do it unless he had the sanction of Vitthaleśvara. For this purpose he was persuaded to approach Vitthaleśvara, who at first hesitated, because these Bengalees were appointed by his father. But after some deliberations, Krishnadās succeeded in obtaining a letter of recommendation to Rājā Bīrbal to help him in his mission. With this letter Krishnadāsa saw Bīrbal, then collected a number of men with him and set fire to the huts of the Bengalees. The moment the latter came to know of this, they came down from the Govardhana hill where the shrine was situated. At first they offered great resistance to Krishnadāsa, but ultimately yielded, and he got exclusive control and possession of the shrine. Rājā Bīrbal was intimate with Giridharaji, the eldest son of Vitthaleśvara. Perhaps to establish his absolute control, Giridharaji brought the shrine of Gopāla-Śree Nāthaji to his own house in Mathurā in 1623. From this date the mode of worship was greatly elaborated by Vitthaleśvara. It became the exclusive resort of Vāllabha Vaishṇavas, and Bengal Vaishṇavas began to forget their early connection with it. The personal relations of Vallabhāchārya and Chaitanya were very cordial as can be inferred from the above facts regarding the setting up the shrine of Śree Nāthaji. The Chaitanya writers, and especially Krishnadāsa, who lived in Bengal and who is the author of Chitanya-Charitāmrita perhaps felt bitterly this loss of the control of the above shrine. In their zeal to extol Chaitanya they tried to belittle the achievements of Vallabhāchārya. Vallabhāchārya's records are singularly devoid of any unpleasant reference to Chaitanya, while the statement of Chitanyē writers that Vallabhāchārya, though praising Chaitanya, slighted his companions, and that he had to take lessons in Bhagavata at Puri from Jagadānanda, pupil of Chaitanya, is merely out of prejudice and historically impossible. There can be no greater nonsense than this. The present Bengal writers like Dr. Sen and others who copy this, seem to be rather uncritical. We believe the above

statements are the result of the disappointment felt by Chaitanya Goswāmis of Brindābana on account of the loss of Śree Nāthaji as mentioned above. We are told that in an early work, Brindāvandāsa's Chaitanya Bhāgavata, there is no reference to the incident of Puri. The transference of the control of the shrine to Vitthaleśvara had very marked results. Emperor Akbar presented the Jatipura village to Vitthaleśvara by a special Firman. The inner worship became confined to the agnates of Vitthaleśvara and their wives and daughters only. Among Brāhmaṇas, Geernārās and Sāchorās who early joined the Faith were allowed to take part in the worship. But the mass of Vaiṣṇavas were henceforth excluded for ever from the touch of the holy shrine, a result which it is doubtful whether Vallabhāchārya or Vitthaleśvara could have had in their minds, when Vallabhāchārya installed the shrine and Vitthaleśvara got its exclusive control. His immediate object then was to exclude the Bengalees only. Perhaps it would not be out of place to remark that this was the occasion when Vitthaleśvara lost all traces of Chaitanya thought which he had gained during his visit to Jagannātha in 1616.

During his stay at Gokula in Samvat 1629, Rājā Todarmal paid a visit to Vitthaleśvara. He was ordered by Emperor Akbar to take the command of the Imperial forces in Behar against king Daud. This was an onerous task and before setting out on his expedition, Todarmal came to Vitthaleśvara to invoke his blessings. He was given by Vitthaleśvara, a 'Pītāmbher' which Todarmal tied over his head, while he started on his expedition. This would show that Todarmal held Vitthaleśvara in very high esteem.

Rājā Birbal's connections with Vitthaleśvara were equally intimate as stated above. When Vitthaleśvara was on his visit to Gujarat, a controversy seems to have arisen as regards the date on which the Janmāshtami fast was to be observed. On his return he came to know about this and composed a work named जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय stating his view about it with reasons. Possibly the रामनवमीनिर्णय was also written by him under similar circumstances. Having quietly settled at Gokula, he gave definiteness to the religious practices initiated by his father.

After Vallabhāchārya, Vitthaleśvara's elder brother Śri Gopīnātha succeeded as Achārya. Śri Gopīnātha was a great devotee. Vitthaleśvara entertained great respect for his brother. We have not got materials enough to learn how Śri Gopīnātha understood and expounded the tenets promulgated by his father. We know that he used to reside at Adel for the most part of the year and like his father used to visit Vraja during the monsoon. There he used to per-

and a portion of the Fifth of the *Bhāgavatārtha-prakarana*. From Gujarat Vaishṇava Rāṇa Vyāsa he secured the *Subodhini*, a commentary on *Śrīmad Bhāgavatā* of Vallabhāchārya. We have no materials to learn whether he got Pūrva-mimāṃsa Bhāṣhya of Vallabhāchārya, though there is plenty of evidence in *Aṇu-Bhāṣhya* to show his great hold on the Sūtras of Jaimini, to which he refers as a master. It is possible, as Purushottamji says, that the Pūrva-mimāṃsa Bhāṣhya became उत्सृज्य in his times. We may infer from this that Vitthaleśvara might have been in possession of the Pūrva-mimāṃsa-Bhāṣhya of Śrī Vallabhāchārya, which became lost to us during the period, so to say, of interregnum, between 1642 and 1724 Samvat. Thus it would seem that Vitthaleśvara had before him almost all the works of Śrī Vallabhāchārya which are now available to us. From these materials we shall presently see how he has developed the system promulgated by his father, both on the practical as also the theoretical side.

On the formation of the Sāṃpradāyika practices Vitthaleśvara's influence seems to be very marked, the nucleus having been supplied by his elder brother Gopinātha in his Sevā-Paddhati. Vallabhāchārya established the shrine of Śrī Nāthaji on the holy mount of Govardhana and initiated a mode of worship which was extremely simple. This shrine was entrusted by him to the devotees who resided there. The initiation of Vaishnavas was a very simple formula, as he puts it somewhere in his Subodhinī, viz; *Krishna, I am thine*. कृष्ण तवास्मि. This would seem to be the ordinary mode of initiation as communicated to Vallabhāchārya by Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa. But for the practical purposes of the Sāṃpradāya, some solemn declaration was a necessity, and hence we feel it is possible that the language used in the explanation incorporated in the *Gāḍya* formula (सहस्रपरिवत्सरमितकालजातकृष्णवियोगजनिततापक्लेशानन्दतिरोभावोऽहं भगवते कृष्णाय देहेन्द्रियप्राणान्तःकरणानि तद्धर्मश्च दारागारपुत्राप्तवित्तेहापराण्यात्ताना सह समपर्यामि, दासोऽहम्, 'कृष्ण तवास्मि ।') is the work of Śrī Vitthaleśvara. For the Sāṃpradāya which was expanding in all directions some grave and solemn declaration appeared to Vitthaleśvara to be a necessity, and he without adding or subtracting anything to the sense of कृष्ण तवास्मि added a solemn declaration by which the sense of the Mantra became abundantly clear. The Sāṃpradāyikas do understand that the portion of the *Gāḍya* preceding कृष्ण तवास्मि is explanatory of the same. This being an explanation coming from Vitthaleśvara accounts for the difference in the readings in the formula among his seven sons. This change was most essential as it added to the solemnity of the initiation ceremony. Vitthaleśvara's personality was second to none in the Sāṃpradāya after Śrī Vallabhāchārya, and one feels admiration for his wisdom when he sees how he has added to the gravity without sacrificing the sense of the original.

form Gopāla-upāsanā. There is a work called *Sādhana-Deepaka*, the authorship of which is attributed to him. From this work we do not learn much. One rule laid down in it is that a widow is to worship Krishna with Bāla-bhāva, while a woman whose husband is living, is to worship Krishna with Bhartri-bhāva. Though we have failed to trace this distinction to any of the writings of Vallabhāchārya which are extant, we feel that there is some ground for the above rule which is based on common sense. Again, this work, though purporting to detail Sādhana as a Bhakta had to follow, it omits any reference to the process of Nivedana which is practised in the Sampradāya even to this day. Beyond this, there is not much in this work elucidating any other point of Vallabhāchārya's philosophy. It seems therefore clear that Vitthaleśvara had to depend on his own exertions to understand the works of his father. In this effort an unfortunate incident seems to have damaged the cause of the Sampradāya to a considerable extent, and in spite of Vitthaleśvara's attempts, one would feel that the loss to the Sampradāya is irreparable.

It is not certain when Śrī Gopīnātha passed away. It seems after his death some unpleasantness was caused between Vitthaleśvara and his sister-in-law, and these feelings of unpleasantness became more embittered on the part of the sister-in-law when her only son Śrī Purushottama also passed away soon after. The result of this was that the original works of Vallabhāchārya which were in possession of Śrī Gopīnātha as the eldest son of Vallabhāchārya were consigned to oblivion by her. The greatness of Vallabhāchārya's personality was so much felt by his devotees during his life-time that none of them seems to have contributed anything to the composition of his works. In the case of Sankarāchārya and Ramanujāchārya one feels that their respective Bhashyas are written, re-written, revised and recast with the collaboration of their learned pupils. In the case of Vallabhāchārya the distance felt by the devotees was so great that none has upto this day ventured to add or subtract anything from them. This being the position and the devotees being wholly enrossed in Krishna-worship as taught by Vallabhāchārya, they did not try to get the copies of his writings. Another reason for the loss of the original works of Vallabhāchārya seems to be the great fire which destroyed almost the whole village of Adel at the time he took to Sannyāsa. When the helm of the Sampradāya came into the hands of Vitthaleśvara it was a problem to him as to how he should get authentic texts of his father's works. On the side of Adel counter influences were working, and it was difficult, if not impossible, to get all the works. He seems to have secured the original copy of the Brahmasutra-Bhashya of his father upto 3-2-34. *Nibandha* seems to have been secured by him, and he has attempted to finish *Prakāśa* on *Nibandha* by writing commentaries on the Fourth skandha,

The daily worship changed according to seasons. Everything was so arranged that if one entered a Pushti-mārgīya temple during winter, the moment he was within the precincts of it, he would least feel the unpleasantness of winter cold. Similarly during summer, entrance in Vitthaleśvara's temple would make you forget that it was summer. The perfection was carried to such an extent that the richest dainties that were daily offered to the deity varied according to time and season. Akbar sometimes did pay visits to Vitthaleśvara and the latter made an exception by allowing the former 'Darśan'. A Sāmpradāyika Gāthā records the following incident of Akbar's visit on one Sārada full-moon day (रासपूर्णिमा). Kṛṣṇa is the symbol of highest Rasa Śringāra. He is described as Śyāma (श्याम). Accordingly everything in the Sevā i. e. पीछवद्, बिछात, etc. was naturally श्याम. This was changed to white silver cloth at Akbar's request, and this practice continues to this day.

Painting too was a favourite pastime with Vitthaleśvara. A beautiful painting of his deity Navanita-priyaraya drawn by him is in the possession of Goswāmi Dwārkeśjee of Bombay. On Utsava days beautiful Ārtis were drawn and filled with pearls and it was filled with harmonious blencing of colours. These Ārtis designed as they were by the ladies of Vitthaleśvara's family are still current in the Sampradāya under their respective names such as Ārti of Rukminiji etc. Some of these Ārtis show a considerable amount of accurate drawing. During the Vasanta season beautiful prints both in dried and wet colours were utilised in the curtains etc. of the daily worship. Similarly during the Sānji days, beautiful Sānjis in the choicest colours depicting the particular sports of Kṛṣṇa were prepared for the deity under the inspiration of Vitthaleśvara.

Choicest flowers such as rose, jasmine, Bakula, Kadamba, lotus etc. were utilised in preparing the garlands to be offered daily to the deity. During summer, flower-houses (फूलमंडली) were organised in such a way that flowers were knit and strung together in the most artistic way. In short, the finest arts which were developed during the Akbar-period were all availed of in the daily worship of Kṛṣṇa.

Vitthaleśvara's field of activities lay chiefly in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. The people of those countries were by instinct commercial. It would be rather difficult to make them take interest in books dealing with the subtle and abstruse problems of philosophy. It was a question to Vitthaleśvara as to how he should make them accept Kṛṣṇa-Sevā as their goal. For this purpose Vitthaleśvara organised bands of amateurs who would give life-like representations of the

We are informed by Goswami Śrī Gokulanathaji Maharaja of Bombay that the whole Gadya in the handwriting of Śrī Vallabhacharya is preserved in the daily worship in the temple of Śrī Damodaraji at Junagadh in Kathiawar. We have not been able to satisfy ourselves as to the authenticity of the same, but if it were so, the above reasoning would be inapplicable.

It is rather difficult now to appreciate how much Vitthaleśvara contributed to the development of the aesthetics in the mode of worship, Sevā-Prakāra. All the fine arts were requisitioned in the performance of the daily worship. Vitthaleśvara was himself a master musician. He knew both the theory and practice of the Indian Music. Some of the most charming songs which are sung before the deity were composed by him. The song 'मंगलं मंगलं' is daily sung in every Pushtimārgīya temple in the early morning when the (स्वरूप) is made to awake. The famous Prabodha is also daily recited. Another song 'प्रेक्षपर्यंकशयनम्' is always sung in 'Ramakali' in the morning when the (स्वरूप) is swung in the cradle (Pālnā). During the Vasanta season an Ashtapadi 'ब्रजयुवतिशतसंगे' is daily sung when Vasanta is being played during the Raja Bhoga Darśana. This Ashtapadi can best compare with the finest ones of Jayadeva in Gīta-Govinda. Govindaswami, the greatest musician of the times, was appointed by him as the chief kirtanakāra in the temple of Nathadwara. Nandadasa, Chaturbhujadasa, Chhituswami and Govindaswami composed some of the finest songs in the local vernacular (Vraja Bhasha) under the direct inspiration of Vitthaleśvara. The songs of Vitthaleśvara are all in Sanskrit. The Ramanujiya saint Tyagarajaswami composed beautiful songs in Sanskrit. Vitthaleśvara's mother-tongue was Telugu, and his activities were confined to Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Rajputana where Telugu was least known. Hence Sanskrit was preferred by him as the medium of communication. Almost all the letters of Vitthaleśvara which are now available are in Sanskrit.

Thus after preparing materials for music, he utilised them in the Sevā-Prakāra with consummate skill and erudition. The music to be sung before the deity was in conformity with each season. Music in the morning Sevā was to be sung in Rāgas which are to be sung in the morning. Music in the evening is to be sung in Rāgas which are to be sung in the evening, the rule being relaxed during the big festivals of Janmāsthāmi, Annakūṭa etc., when any Raga can be sung. In music, Rāgas change according to season. The finest musical instruments (Tambura, Bin, Mridanga, Sārangi etc.) of the age were made use of in the daily Sevā. This practice is continued to this day in the Sampradāya. Vitthaleśvara's son Raghunāthaji was, we believe, literally correct when he speaks about his father as गीतश्रीतसागर.

was bestowed on its construction. Free passage of light and air was always borne in mind. The temple of Śrī Nāthaji to this day is a building of an exceptionally simple type. Inside the temple, in the middle, there was kept a chawk surrounded by three arched-door galleries. Behind one of such galleries was the inner chamber called Nija-Mandira. On one side of this Nija-Mandira was kept the sleeping-apartment or Śayana-griha which was always constructed in the most costly and artistic fashion. On the other side was kept the Bhoga-griha-dining apartment-where the deity was offered Bhoga-food etc. Beyond the Bhogagriha were situated two rooms where food to be offered to the deity was prepared. Separate rooms were kept for preparation of flowergarlands, vegetables, betel-leaves, and baths, known as Fula-griha, Śaka-griha, Pāna-griha, Jala-griha etc. Valuable ornaments and dresses with which the deity was adorned were similarly kept in a safe place. This temple was situated in the centre and round the temple were raised dwelling places for the Mahārāja and his prachāraḥ. The idea that the deity was the Lord and the others including the Go-swāmi Mahārāja were His servants was kept in mind in the construction of their dwelling places.

Side by side with the development of the Sevā-prakāra, he devoted himself with equal earnestness with elaborating and expounding the doctrines of his revered father. He wrote his literary works with maturity of thought and expression. The completion of the Anu Bhāshya on the Vedānta-Sūtras belongs to this period. His reputation as a great religious teacher was established beyond question. Rich presents from Vaishṇavas of Gujarāt flowed to him here. The patronage of Emperor Akbar and his famous ministers Todarmull, Birbal, Rai Purushottama and others came to him unsolicited. The learned men of his caste who stayed with him at Gadhbā came to him and they were all patronised by him. With these men he entered into matrimonial relations. His daughters were given in marriage to the sons of these learned men and their daughters were taken in marriage by him for his sons. These people of his caste came to be known as Bhattas. Vitthaleśvara's connection with the country of his forefathers now being no longer necessary was practically severed. He became naturalised in Gokula. Gradually the mother-tongue Telugu came to be replaced by the local language. Both Vaishṇavas and Bhattas began to revere Vitthaleśvara with intense devotion. The result was that Vitthaleśvara was made conscious of his greatness to such an extent that he could with equal propriety speak of himself in plural. While explaining to Subodhinī to Vaishṇavas, during the evening recess, he wrote out notes on difficult passages on Subodhinī. These notes were ultimately put together and given the name of विवृतिप्रकाश. The मंगल-चरण, 'श्रीविवृतैः' कियते suggests the above-mentioned self-consciousness.

various sports of Krishna. This method proved very successful and whole communities of Gujarāt accepted the Krishna Sevā-creed with marvellous zeal and rapidity. In fact everything that belongs to any one is to be dedicated to Krishna. There was no actual parting with the thing, but there was the ingrained remembrance that everything of you is not for your own self but for God; a doctrine like this which Vallabhāchārya preached in અવિચ્છા પૂતના નદ્યા ગન્ધમાત્રાવશેષિતા was translated into the daily life of Vaishnavas by turning this અહંતા and મમતા from સંસાર towards God. Vitthaleśvara achieved this for his devotees by this simple and sure remedy of Krishna-worship in which every member of the family could take part and all their belongings could be best utilised. Thus Vitthaleśvara made Vaishnavism a living religion among the masses of Gujarāt. The influence of Vitthaleśvara was so deep-rooted, and in course of time it went on increasing to such an extent that when one speaks of a Vaishnava in Gujarāt the reference is generally understood to be to a Pushtimārgiya Vaishnava. Dr. Bhāndārkar's remark that Vallabha's mode of worship was more dramatic than emotional seems to be rather unfounded. All the paraphernalia of the Sevā without the deity's special grace અનુગ્રહ and intense love was a thing never approved of nor preached by Vitthaleśvara. Dr. Bhāndarkar's remark was rather due to the learned scholar's unfamiliarity with or distant acquaintance from hearsay evidence with the Sevā-Prakāra followed in Pushtimārgiya temples. Our own experience of the temples of Rāmānujās, Madhvas, Godias, and the chief shrines of Jagannātha and Vitthala leads us to the inevitable conclusion that in the mode of Krishna-worship Vitthaleśvara's position is unique and unrivalled. The fact was whole-heartedly acknowledged by one great Vaishnava teacher Swāminārāyaṇa of Gujarāt when he speaks of Vitthaleśvara as the king of Vaishnava teachers in the શિક્ષાપત્રી, where he preaches his followers to follow the mode of worship as laid down by Vitthaleśvara. The fact is that the Seva-Prakāra was modelled to develop the finer sentiments of the human heart, and to term it dramatic would certainly do injustice to the great Āchārya. Experience has proved that by following this Sevāprakāra the devotees not only forgot the bonds of Sansāra, but it helped them in feeling the living presence of the deity. In actual practice, flaws might be noticed, the ideal set up by Vitthaleśvara might not be attained, but to term the whole Sevāprakāra as dramatic is rather an abuse of language.

In the construction of temples, Vitthaleśvara followed a plan of his own. He did not approve of the idea of rich and costly buildings for temples. He realised that gorgeous temple buildings were not safe under the mahomedan rule. For this reason he constructed temples of an extremely simple style. Nothing could be seen from outside. From outside appearance his temple would appear to be a simple dwelling-house. But at the same time, inside the temple, great care

with Vitthaleśvara, Krishṇadāsa prohibited his access into the temple. Vitthaleśvara submitted to the order of the Adhikāri, and lived at Chand Sarovara, Parāsolī, for about six months of the exile. During the period he has penned some of the finest Vijnaptis-prayers. It is said that one such Vijnapti was written per day and the same was taken to Śrī Nāthaji by Rāmdāsa. These Vijnaptis reveal the depths of Vitthaleśvara's heart. In them there is a harmonious blending of thought and expression. A perusal of these Vijnaptis leaves a lasting impression on our mind. They are the outcome of a burning heart yearning passionately to meet the object of its intense love. A veil has been drawn as to the reason which led to the exile of Vitthaleśvara by Krishṇadāsa. However, ultimately Krishṇadāsa came round begged Vitthaleśvara's pardon and requested him to return to the temple. In these Vijnaptis each verse stands by itself. One publisher grouped them together into a collection of 25 each, but there seems to be little warrant for the same. It would not be out of place to record our own view as to the origin of these Vijnaptis. Vitthaleśvara was a great letter-writer. He used to send and receive letters from a good many Vaiṣṇavas. These letters were in Sanskrit prose, but in the beginning and end of each letter a verse or two were written by Vitthaleśvara to remind his pupils of their sublime mission. In course of time, the uninteresting matter of the letters came to be neglected, but the verses were collected and preserved. This being the origin of these Vijnaptis, we can well understand why these verses are unconnected. Unconnected as they are, they do breathe the fervent devotion of the great author. In some of them the highest and noblest sentiments find expression.

Vitthaleśvara's family-life was extremely happy. He himself was blessed by God with a big family. By his first wife Rukmiṇī he had seven sons and four daughters. Śobhā, Yamunā, Kamalā and Devakā were his daughters by the first wife. They were all married, and they lived with their husbands in Vitthaleśvara's house. Giridhara, Govinda, Bālkrishṇa, Vallabha, Raghunātha and Yadunātha were six sons by his first wife Rukmiṇī. Ghanaśyāma was the seventh and the only son of Vitthaleśvara by his second wife Padmāvatī. The first child of Vitthaleśvara was Śobhā, and after her Giridhara the eldest son was born. Purushottama the only son of his brother Gopinātha had passed away, but his two sisters Lakshmī and Satyabhāmā lived with Vitthaleśvara. They passed their widowhood in the service of Śrī Navanītapriya, the family deity, in perfect happiness. In spite of his being a big family-man, he had freed his house from the shortcomings of the Sansārika miseries. In short there was no touch of Sansāra in his family-life. One Devakinandana, a grandson of his, son of Raghunātha the fifth son, records the mone in which he was fondled by Vitthaleśvara in his childhood in a poetical work Rasābdhi composed by him. 'श्रीकृष्णः शरणं ममेति शनकैस्त्वार्य

Vallabhāchārya had given several Swarūpas to his devotees. When these devotees and their descendents became extinct or unable to carry on the Sevā of the Swarūpas, they returned the same to Vitthaleśvara. Of these about seven or eight were received by him. These Swarūpas were distributed by Vitthaleśvara in Dāya-Bhāga among his seven sons in Samvat 1634. All the seven sons were given a joint right to Sevā of Śrī Nāthaji, the eldest son Giridharaji being left in control of the same under the primogeniture rule. These seven Swarūpas came to be known in the Sampradāya as the seven Nidhis. Separate houses for all the seven sons (except perhaps for Yadunāthaji who being the youngest son of Rukmiṇi remained joint with Giridharaji, the eldest son) were built in Gokula and given to each of the sons. Each son thus set up the Swarūpa given to him in Dāyabhāga as a shrine of his own. These came to be known in the Sampradāya as seven Gādis or seats. In a letter Vitthaleśvara asks his sons to select a site for the house of Yadunātha. It seems he passed away before the house of Yadunātha actually came to be built. The result of this has been rather undesirable in the Sampradāya, because it proved fruitful in giving scope to as many as four persons to put forward their claims to the Gādi of Yadunātha.

The last years of Vitthaleśvara were passed very happily at Gokula. One Murari Pandit wrote to him to give him a work which would explain to him the fundamental principles of Pushti-Marga in such a way that he could silence all his opponents on his side of the country. For him Vitthaleśvara wrote out the Bhakti-hansa and sent it to him. On receipt of the same the Pandit was much delighted and asked for a further explanation of the root cause of Bhakti. Thereupon Vitthaleśvara wrote out the Bhakti-hetu. Both these works together in a nutshell explain that the cause of Bhakti is God's Grace (अनुग्रह) alone and that the Supreme Purushottama plays among his select devotees, unapproached by मन्त्र, तन्त्र etc.

Vitthaleśvara lived for over 70 years. His was a life in which there was a happy perfection of the theory and practice of the Sampradāya. His devotees have drawn a veil on the manner of his passing away, but from one Gopāl-dāsa of Vyāra we learn that he had fever and some pain in stomach when he passed away on Māgha Kṛṣṇa seventh, Samvat 1642. Thus a life full of events was closed, the happy memories of which are enshrined in the hearts of the Vaishṇavas even to this day.

Good comes out of evil is well illustrated in an incident in the life of Vitthaleśvara. Kṛṣṇadāsa was appointed as the Adhikāri in the temple of Nāthadwāra on Govardhana hill by Vallabhāchārya. On account of some disagreement

वात्सल्यतः श्रीहस्ताम्बुजमाननोपरि मम व्यापारयन् सर्वतः । ××× श्रीविद्मलः शर्मणे । This would show that while fondling his children Vitthaleśvara would not forget his Lord Kṛṣṇa himself, but would leave a lasting impression on the tender minds of his children that primarily their duty was to serve Lord Kṛṣṇa. A Kīrtana attributed to his another grandson Kalyāṇarāya gives an exquisitely delicate expression to his unwillingness to leave Vitthaleśvara's house, at the time when Vitthaleśvara's uncle who was childless came to ask him to give him any one of his male children. At this time Kalyāṇarāya was afraid that he, being the first-born grandson, would be given away. The idea of remaining at the gate of Vitthaleśvara and thereby singing praises of Lord Kṛṣṇa was a thing which appealed to Kalyāṇarāya more than anything else in the world howsoever attractive. Vitthaleśvara understood all his children and he knew very well that none of them would be willing to leave his house, so he asked his uncle to take away any of them who would be willing to go with him. The uncle was baffled by this reply and went away disappointed. The Sampradāyika Gāthā relates that the uncle administered three curses to Vitthaleśvara's progeny. These three are—(1) maintenance of daughters' husbands, (2) debts, and (3) travelling. How far and how much truth there is in this Gāthā, it is difficult for us to determine, but so far as the first charge is concerned, it is literally true. Even to this day the Bhattas, the so-called husbands of the daughters of a Goswāmi's family, are maintained in Goswāmi's house with almost all the members of their family. So far as the second charge is concerned, we find some evidence for accepting the truth of the same. In a letter written by Vitthaleśvara himself he asks his sons to wipe out the debts. As regards the third, it is a blessing in disguise, it would add to the number of वैष्णवस, and the religion would prosper. Whatever that may be, Vitthaleśvara's attitude seems clear. He had accepted the second alternative of Atyāga. He did not want his daughters to plunge into Sansāra. So he kept them in his house, so that they could also serve Lord Kṛṣṇa with the same facilities as his sons would do. They were married of course, but their husbands the Bhattas had no access into the Sevāprakāra of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the family of Vitthaleśvara. Even to this day no Bhatta is admitted in the inner worship in a temple owned by a Goswāmi. Debts for the Sevā of Lord Kṛṣṇa were never considered objectionable. They are not for the Sansāra and as such, the evil influences are few. Thus these curses had no evil effect on the descendants of Vitthaleśvara. Family life led by them was happy. The wives of Giridhara and Raghunātha were two sisters, so also those of Yadunātha and Ghanashyāma were sisters. Not only were members of the family happy but even those who came in Vitthaleśvara's contact were extremely happy and contented. One Mahādeva Dwivedi gives

expression to this fact in the following verse 'श्रीविठ्ठलदीक्षिते राजमाने महीतले । वैकुण्ठगमनेच्छा कुण्ठिता वैकुण्ठवासिनाम्'. The Girinārā and Sachorā Brāhmins who early joined the faith and were taken by Vitthaleśvara in the inner worship did so without any monetary remuneration. Their duty was to serve Lord Kṛishṇa according to the directions of Vitthaleśvara. All their other wants were looked after by Vitthaleśvara. How much he cared for the comforts of his Sevakas could be well seen from the following. In the daily worship, water was to be brought from the Jamunā river by Sevakas, but writes Vitthaleśvara in his letter, that if it was found troublesome to them, it should not be done because his Swāmī—Lord Kṛishṇa was delicate, and the inference was that he would not accept anything which arose out of Kleśa. (श्रीयमुनाजलनिर्वाहः सेवकैः कर्तव्यः, परन्तु नातिक्लेशेन, मत्स्वामिनः कोमलस्वभावत्वात्). Endowed as he was with such tender feelings for his devotees should reciprocate the same sentiments in greater degrees. It is in fitness of things that poet Gopāladāsa after describing all the details of Vitthaleśvara's family should prescribe the same as Kalpa Vriksha. (श्रीविठ्ठलकल्पद्रुम फळयो तेनी शाखा प्रसरी अनेकरो रसना).

From most ancient times, in India. Vedas are regarded as revelations through Ṛshis, who were in direct contact with ब्रह्म, and even to this day, Indians are proud to trace their descent through the गोत्र of a particular Ṛshi. As time passed, this direct contact vanished, and doubts arose as to the real nature of ब्रह्म on account of differences in Śrutis. Thereupon बादरायण व्यास came down upon the Earth, and gave a complete समन्वय in his ब्रह्मसूत्र. He is regarded as ज्ञानावतार by all orthodox Indians, and his authority is accepted by all the various interpreters of वेदान्ते. Gradually, the true meaning of ब्रह्मसूत्र also was forgotten, and they were interpreted in various ways by various interpreters. In the great wave of Buddhism that came upon India, these interpretations were almost lost, and barring a few वृत्ति mentioned here and there, Śāṅkara's is the most ancient interpretation now available to us. Oriental scholars have studied his interpretation carefully, and they find that he has superimposed his doctrine of माया on the natural meaning of the Sūtras. He was followed by भास्कर, रामानुज, मध्व, निम्बार्क and others who have all challenged his interpretation, and as Vallabhācharya's अणुभाष्य, and प्रकाश are read more and more, his merits as a true and faithful interpreter of ब्रह्मसूत्र are widely recognised. This work of Vitthaleśvara also purports to deal with the true nature of ब्रह्म, whether it is निर्विशेष as interpreted by Śāṅkara, or सविशेष or both, and the author takes the reader over all the important disputed subjects with a freshness and zeal all his own.

विद्वन्मण्डन is quoted in the latter portion of अणुभाष्य, but no reference is made in विद्वन्मण्डन to the latter सूत्रs, and so it seems to have been written by Vitthaleśvara before he completed अणुभाष्य. Noble thoughts and powerful arguments are depicted in very graceful and flowing language, and this charming treatise well deserves the name विद्वन्मण्डन, the ornament of the learned.

The work is divided into three volumes; the first volume contains the text, together with the four commentaries, of which the fourth one सिद्धान्तशोभा is put at the end, because originally it was decided not to publish it, it being incomplete. Subsequently, at the suggestion of Mr. Mulchandra T. Teliwala, it was included in the publication, and printed at the end. He was asked to write an Introduction to the whole work in English, and he undertook the task, and wrote the life of the author of the work, Śri Vitthaleśvara, throwing new light on many details, but before he could write about the work and the commentators, he was suddenly snatched away by God from Earth, and the reader will have to content himself with the lucid Sanskrit and Hindi Nishkarshas given in the second volume by Jagannath Shastri, under the direction of Shastri Vāmanāchārya, and the various facts about the Manuscripts on which the texts of the original and Teekas are based, about the nature of the work, the time when it was written, the motive of writing it, and about the lives of the commentators, introductions to Vidvanmandana and the other valuable details so elaborately given in the third volume. Fortunately Chitras of the authors of the original work as well as the first three commentators have been found, and they have been all inserted in the work.



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